DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 184 764 RC 011 943

AUTHOR	Roessel, Robert A., Jr.
TITLE	Pictorial History of the Navajo from 1860 to 1910.
INSTITUTION	Rough Rock Demonstration School, Chinle, Ariz. Navajo Curriculum Center.
SPONS AGENCY	Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C. Office of Indian Education.
PUB DATE	80
NOTE	319p.; Not available in paper copy because some pages may not reproduce well.
AVAILABLE FROM	Navajo Curriculum Center, Rough Rock Demonstration School, Star Route One, Rough Rock, AZ 86503 ($14.95)
EDRS PRICE	MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	*American Indian Culture; American Indian Education; American Indian Reservations; *American Indians; Boarding Schools; Children; Clothing Design; Cultural Background; Federal Indian Relationship; Females; Handicrafts; Housing; Land Settlement; Leaders; *Life Style; *Photographs; Quality of Life; Social Environment; Social History; *Social Influences; *United States History
IDENTIFIERS	Arizona (Fort Defiance); *Cultural Contributions; *Navajo (Nation); New Mexico (Fort Sumner); Weaving

ABSTRACT

One in a continuing series on Navajo history and culture, this volume contains nearly 200 photographs depicting Navajo life from 1860 through 1910. The period includes the United States' campaign against the Navajo leading to the Long Walk and encampment at Fort Sumner, the return to Navajo lands and the establishment of Fort Defiance, and the ensuing period of readjustment and adaptation. The photographs, most of excellent quality and full-page in size, are organized under two main headings: "Navajo Life and Culture" and "Navajo People." The first section is subdivided into chapters devoted to Fort Sumner, Fort Defiance, the Navajo Delegation to Washington in 1874, boarding school education, weaving, silversmithing, and the Navajo landscape. The second section is subdivided into chapters depicting Navajo women, men, children, and groups. Captions for each photograph provide the source of the photograph and its file number at that institution, original caption information, and the photographer and date when available. Each chapter is introduced by brief historical and cultural information setting the stage for the photographs that follow. The text includes extensive quotes from 24 annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs reflecting the government's changing policies toward the Navajo. A bibliography of 62 entries is included. (JH)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be mad *
* from the original document. *
****

ED184764

RC011943

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Rough Rock School

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

2

PUBLICATION OF THIS BOOK
WAS MADE POSSIBLE IN PART
BY TITLE IV
PART A-NON LEA OF THE INDIAN EDUCATION ACT

ROUGH ROCK SCHOOL BOARD, Inc.

WADE HADLEY, *President*

TEDDY MC CURTAIN, *Vice-President*

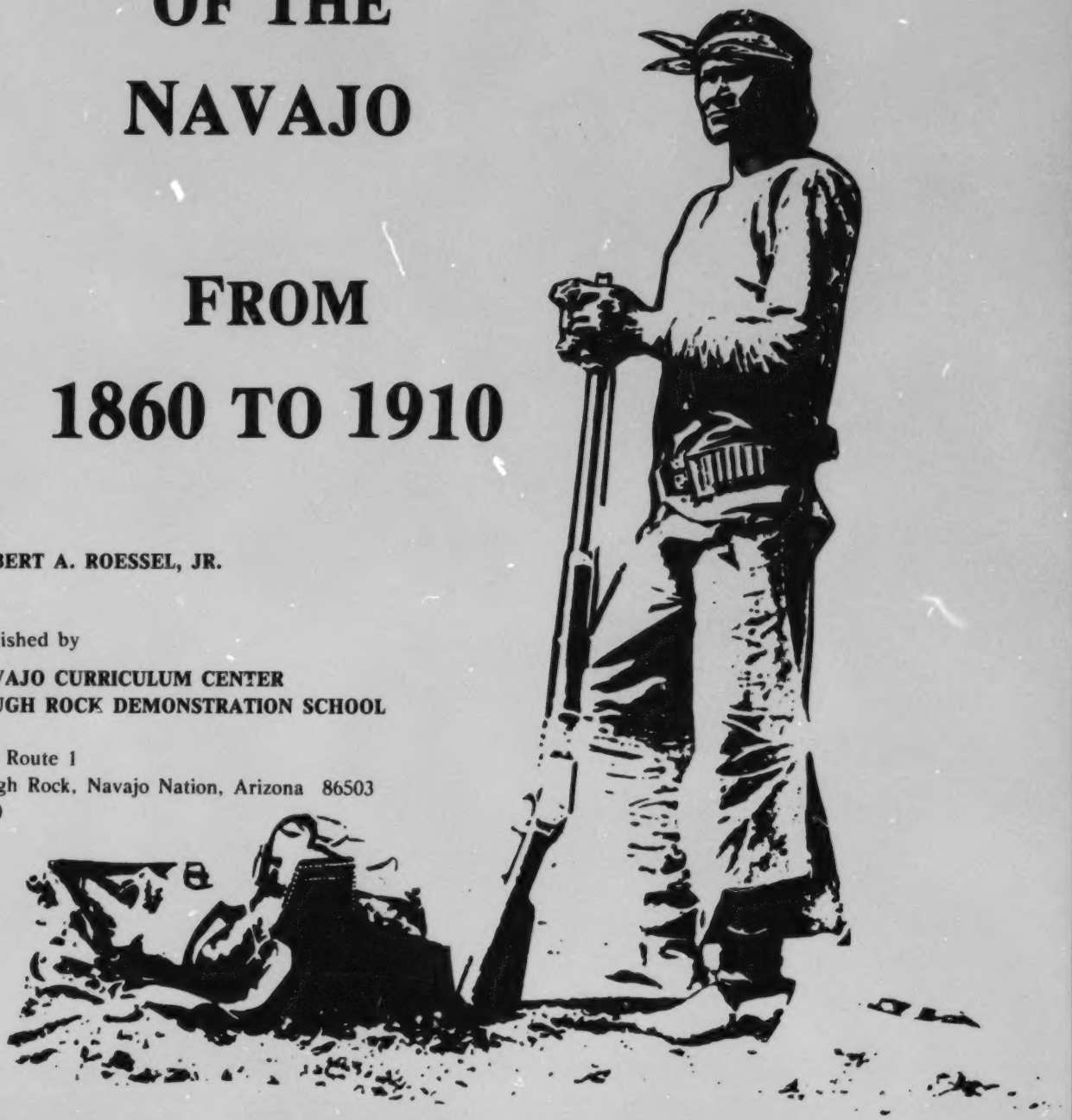
THOMAS JAMES, *Secretary*

JOHN CABONI, *Member*

DAN YAZZIE, *Member*

YELLOWHAIR BEGAY, *Member*

PICTORIAL HISTORY OF THE NAVAJO FROM 1860 TO 1910



BY
ROBERT A. ROESSEL, JR.

Published by

NAVAJO CURRICULUM CENTER
ROUGH ROCK DEMONSTRATION SCHOOL

Star Route 1
Rough Rock, Navajo Nation, Arizona 86503
1980

Copyright © 1980

by

NAVAJO CURRICULUM CENTER
ROUGH ROCK DEMONSTRATION
ROUGH ROCK, ARIZONA 86503

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

NO PART OF THIS BOOK MAY BE REPORDUCED OR TRANSMITTED IN ANY FORM OR BY ANY MEANS, ELECTRONIC OR MECHANICAL, INCLUDING PHOTOCOPYING, RECORDING OR BY ANY INFORMATION STORAGE AND RETRIEVAL SYSTEM, WITHOUT PERMISSION IN WRITING FROM THE PUBLISHER, EXCEPT BY A REVIEWER WHO MAY QUOTE BRIEF PASSAGES IN A REVIEW.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOGING IN PUBLICATION DATA

Roessel, Robert A
Pictorial history of the Navajo from 1860 to 1910.

Bibliography: p.
1. Navaho Indians--History. I. Navaho Curriculum Center. II. Title.
E99.N3R634 970.004'97 80-87
ISBN 0-93600-00-8

International Standard Book Number 0 - 936008 - 00 - 8
Library of Congress Catalog Card Number 80-87

FIRST EDITION
Printed in the United States of America

DEDICATION

To Navajos of All Ages
who Respect and Carry On
the Rich Tradition of their Ancestors

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First and foremost I would like to thank those individuals who worked long and faithfully on this book for a period covering over one year. Without the research, photography, and typing accomplished by these people, the book never would have been written: they are Mary, Monty, and Raymond Roessel and Karina Uentillie.

Next I would like to thank those institutions and museums which generously allowed me access to their photographs and ably assisted by providing copies of these photos selected. It is always a source of wonder to find individuals who work at such places and who are so kind and helpful. Too often, the rest of the world just is not like that. The places visited include:

Arizona Collection, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona

Arizona Historical Society Library, Tucson, Arizona

Arizona State Museum, Tucson, Arizona

Maxwell Museum, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico

Museum of New Mexico - Photography Division, Santa Fe, New Mexico

Museum of the American Indian - New York City, Washington, D.C.

National Archives, Still Picture Branch, Washington, D.C.

Smithsonian Institution - Pictorial Records, Washington, D.C.

Southwest Museum, Los Angeles, California

FORWARD

This book is another in the continuing series of publications produced by the Rough Rock Demonstration School under a mandate from the School Board to produce materials dealing with the Navajos which are aimed at instilling knowledge and pride in all Navajos with regard to their history and heritage. The Rough Rock Demonstration School, which began in 1966, was the first school in the United States which was completely controlled by Indian people through a locally elected school board. The true significance of this early example of Indian control over Indian education lies not in the mere fact that control was vested in an all-Navajo school board but more importantly that this school board changed the emphasis and curriculum of the school. Up to that time (1966) Navajo Life and Culture was something that was not taught and was therefore not emphasized in the classroom. Schools were looked upon as a vehicle for scrubbing Navajo children white and they were often successful in this genocide-type task. When the Navajo school board took over the complete control of the Rough Rock Demonstration School, the first thing they did was to add a second primary educational target. Up to that time, the sole target was English and to learn, acquire and respect the culture and way of life of the dominant society. The school board at Rough Rock added a second target of learning about one's own Navajo culture, heritage and language at school as a means to assist in the development of a positive self-image. The curriculum was consequently added to so that Navajo language became a subject and a teaching tool throughout all grades and Navajo history, culture and heritage became worthy subjects to be taught throughout the school. It became painfully and quickly evident that there were no curriculum materials and books that were adequate in quantity and quality and which were written either by Navajos or from a Navajo perspective that could be used in the important task of teaching Navajo life and culture. As a result, the school board established, within months after the establishment of the Rough Rock Demonstration School, the Navajo Curriculum Center which was given the responsibility of developing the Navajo books, curriculum units and other materials that could be used in the classroom as a means to teach Navajo language and Navajo culture in Rough Rock and other classrooms.

Since that initial charge back in 1966, a dozen major publications and over fifty minor publications, including Navajo-based curriculum units, have been produced. (A list may be found in the appendix.)

A Pictorial History of the Navajo from 1860-1910, is another of these efforts aimed at developing important and significant publications which can be used by Navajos, and others who may wish to learn about this portion of American history. This book is primarily, as the title indicates, a book of pictures, many of whom have been printed elsewhere, but all of whom never have been brought together in a single publication so the interested student can study the photographs easily and evaluate for himself Navajo life during this period of intense trauma and tragedy.

The written material which accompanies this book is short and has as its main purpose the setting of the stage in terms of what the photographs show and the historical events that are involved. Once again, the written material is written, and proudly so, from a Navajo vantage point and a Navajo perspective. The heros in the drama are the Navajos and the photographs reveal their strength and beauty so that the task of the written word is to assist the reader in understanding and respecting these great people.

The photographs contained within this publication certainly do not include all of the photographs available during the period nor do they even include all of the good photographs that are available. Rather, they were selected because they show Navajo life as it was during this period and further they were located and available at one or more of the sources utilized. It is not claimed that all photographs taken of the Navajo during this 50 year period of time were reviewed

nor is it claimed that any effort was made to go to all potential sources. Rather, it is claimed that the following major collections of pictoral information about the Navajo were checked and utilized. The two largest sources of Navajo photographs of this period certainly were found in the National Archives and in the Pictoral Records Division of the Smithsonian Institute. Other places which were checked and from which photographs were obtained included the Museum of the American Indian in New York City, Southwest Museum in Los Angeles, the Arizona Historical Society in Tucson, the Arizona State Museum in Tucson, the Arizona Collection at Arizona State University in Tempe, the Maxwell Museum at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque, and the Museum of New Mexico in Santa Fe. All of these collections were visited and selections made for possible inclusion in this book.

The description of each photograph contained in this book includes the location of the photograph and the file number used at that institution, whatever caption information was provided, and information about photographer and date if available. It should be stated that some of the photographs were found in almost every collection and obviously only one of such photographs were selected for use in this book. Whether or not the author properly credited the original source is not known because in almost every instance these photographs that are contained in several collections are nowhere identified as to where the original negative and photograph resides.

The photographer listed in the description of the photo is that person identified in the caption supplied by the source from which the photo was obtained. There appear to be obvious errors in that some photos are listed as photographer and date unknown and others with the exact same background and/or props list a specific photographer and date. Further, a number of photos have written on the front the name "Wittick" yet the caption supplied listed "Randall" as photographer. The listing contained in the material sent by the supplying museum (source) is what has been listed. It is figured that their knowledge is certainly greater than the author's in terms of ascribing the name of the photographer of the picture taken.

The format used in this book is one in which there is an arbitrary division into two basic sections. The first Part contains those photographs and written material which can be catagorized as showing and describing Navajo Life and Culture and the second which can be catagorized as showing and describing Navajo People. It is obvious that many photographs could be placed in either category: here again the author made what he felt was the most appropriate choice and selection.

Each of these two major divisions is divided into separate chapters and these chapters, in addition to the photographs, may include a written description and discussion with regard to what certain of the photographs show and what history reveals. This written part is always and deliberately secondary to the photographs. It is felt that the major portion of each chapter is the photographs themselves. Some photographs may be further described as to particular points which contribute to a fuller understanding of that photograph and what it reveals. These discussions will in most instances be brief but will hopefully make the photographs more meaningful to the reader because they may describe things that someone else may not see. In order for this aspect of the book to be most significant and worthy of inclusion it was obviously necessary to rely on more than just the author's descriptions of each photograph. As a result, each photograph was analyzed and examined by from three to six knowledgeable Navajos and others who have various insights and backgrounds that hopefully expand and increase the understanding of every photograph. These individuals include the author's wife, Ruth.

This use of information provided by what others saw in the photograph may contribute significantly to the written description of each photograph. However, the author must take and will take full responsibility for what is said so that if there are mistakes they can then be directly attributed to the author.

The photographs reproduced in this book are located in the Navajo Curriculum Center at the Rough Rock Demonstration School. When the visits were made to the various sources listed earlier, that were believed to have suitable photographs of Navajos, the particular photographs that

the author wished to consider using in the publication were marked and an 8 inch by 10 inch copy was obtained. These photographs were collected and examined with the final selection used in the book numbering about 200. It should be remembered, that many more photographs were collected and today reside at the Navajo Curriculum Center at Rough Rock than were used in this publication.

Another objective of this book is to present reports, quotations, and information which have not been generally and readily available in existing publications. One of the important sources utilized in the research related to this volume has been the examination of the various annual reports from the Commissioner's of Indian Affairs dating from 1865 through 1906.

This gold mine of data contains not only the yearly reports from the Commissioner but also from each Indian agent as well as other information such as food and supply contracts by Agency, school reports and so forth. Unfortunately, much of the material found in these publications have been little used or at least not fully utilized.

Since these reports from the Commissioner are not found in even many of the better libraries, this book takes the liberty of quoting rather extensively from them.

An examination of the Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs during the period of the Long Walk and Fort Sumner reveal interesting changing areas of priorities on the part of Brigadier General Carleton who commanded the Department of New Mexico. In the year 1863, a review of General Carleton's correspondence showed an obsession with gold and his firm conviction that deposits of gold far more extensive than those found in California would be found in or near Navajo country. Hence, the need to remove all Navajos from the treasure area.

In the year 1864, General Carleton's correspondence as contained in the 1867 publication entitled, *Condition of Indian Tribes, 1867,* reflected the emphasis of his growing concern over the problem of feeding all the Navajos at Fort Sumner. His letters clearly reveal the gigantic task of feeding some 8,000 Indian people concentrated at Bosque Redondo and no longer is there frequent reference to gold as was true the preceeding year.

By the year 1865, General Carleton's correspondence, reflected primarily his efforts to save his Fort Sumner experiment and to try to obtain support for that undertaking. By that time oppostion from many other powerful individuals had reached an alarming proportion and General Carleton spent much of his time, as reflected in his letters, in supporting and defending Fort Sumner as a proper permanent home for the Navajos.

The written material which accompanies the photographs used in this book is admittedly uneven. Some portions of the book have lengthy and substantially written material to accompany photographs while other sections have no such written documentation. This is due primarily to the fact that information has been included where it was available and where it felt it would contribute to a fuller understanding of that particular period or episode in Navajo history. Some of the events which occurred during this fifty-year period (1860-1910) are not presented in this book.

The development of this pictorial history book of the Navajo grew first from around the photographs which were collected and then selectively from the various annual reports from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

INTRODUCTION

It is important to point out a philosophical approach used in the preparation of this book. While the descriptions of the photographs and the discussions of the various historical events that took place during the period 1860-1910 are presented factually and honestly, it is important that the reader understand the bias and prejudice of the author. He has frequently been accused by both friend and foe as being a "Navajo Lover" a title he accepts with pride with the possible extension to include the broader term "Indian Lover." The author has not attempted to be objective in the sense of concealing his feelings and emotions. This book depicts the life and drama of a great people who suffered and were abused by a nation who ought to have done better since that great nations' roots were founded in respect for the individual and a commitment to freedom. These principles and commitments have rarely, perhaps never, been completely extended to America's first citizens.

This book will have made a contribution if Navajo students and Navajo adults look at the book and find pictures of a hearty people who overcame tremendous adversity to become a potentially great people. It is firmly believed the Navajo, and other Indians who have not lost their culture and traditions, have a message not only for America but for all mankind. Their values, their world-views, their global philosophy, their relationship to the earth and sky, are but a few of the unique contributions the Navajo must make to mankind. To the reader, whether he is Navajo or non-Navajo, this book attempts to present a view which adds to a fuller understanding and appreciation of the Navajo and his way of life.

The period covered in this book is one in which the Navajo experienced their greatest trials and tribulations. The early 1860's saw the beginning of General Carleton and Kit Carson's scorched-earth campaign against the Navajos. It will be remembered that in 1848 the United States won a war with Mexico which resulted in this country acquiring the territory which is known as the southwest and which totally encompasses the present Navajo reservation. For more than a century the Navajos had been involved in a struggle to remain free and to retain their own land. During this period there were raids and counterraids by the residents of the New Mexico area against the Navajos and also by the Navajos against these residents. Slaves became a very profitable item of trade and recent literature has shown the Navajos to have been one of the prime targets for collecting Navajo women and children which were sold into slavery by the thousands into the homes and life of the residents of New Mexico and elsewhere. The Navajos also raided and captured individuals who frequently were adopted into the Navajo tribe and such women often became the founder of new Navajo clans. In other words, the people the Navajos captured on their raids became the material out of which at least 20 new Navajo clans were established. Also, Navajos captured large numbers of livestock particularily sheep and horses and these items helped remold Navajo culture into one which was largely pastoral in nature.

Through a lack of understanding of the nature of Navajo political and social organization the United States declared war on the Navajos and planned to either exterminate them or totally subjugate them and remove them from their land. It was felt that the Navajo's word could not be trusted since treaties were made and broken by the Navajo. It was an unrecognized fact that the Navajos did not have a single chief which could speak for the entire tribe but rather they enjoyed a completely democratic society in which there were many different groups with local headmen whereas the agreements made by one were in no way binding or even known by anyone else. It was this lack of a central "chief" which led the Army to believe the Navajos were not to be trusted since they apparently broke their word so often.

In 1863, General Carleton ordered Kit Carson into the field with specific orders to kill or capture every adult Navajo. The manner whereby the Navajos were hounded and forced to surrender was powerfully described in the publication of the Navajo Community College Press

entitled, *Navajo Stories of the Long Walk Period.*[1] Navajo hogans were burned, cornfields destroyed, sheep and livestock captured and killed, peach trees and other food supplies destroyed and perhaps most effectively was the arming and release of the Utes and other residents of New Mexico who were given license to sweep down upon the Navajo, raid them, capture women, children and livestock, and sell them to whoever wished to buy them.

During this dark period of Navajo history, Navajo land was a sad and fearful place. Navajos who had not been killed or captured lived in constant fear of the Army, the Utes, the Hopis, the Zunis, the Mexicans and others so that they were afraid to build fires. they moved frequently and generally lived a life dominated by fear and by tears.

Kit Carson was successful in capturing most Navajos so that General Carleton's experiment, which called for Navajos to be placed on a concentration camp at Fort Sumner, New Mexico in southwestern New Mexico, came into being. While substantial numbers of Navajos escaped capture and remained on the Navajo land, over 8,000 were forced to walk and travel the distance far from the beauty and protection of the four sacred mountains to that of a distant alkali and desert area - Fort Sumner.

Thousands died on the way and at Fort Sumner so that when in 1868 the Navajos were allowed to return home there was great rejoicing. Yet, they returned to a devestated land in which they needed to rebuild not only their homes and their economy but equally important their strength and their culture. It is to the everlasting credit of the Navajo people that in spite of this massive effort to destroy a culture, which rivaled what the Nazis did to the Jews in World War II, the Navajos returned, picked up the pieces and became the largest and strongest Indian nation in the United States today.

The period following the return from Fort Sumner was a period of acculturation and adjustment. A railroad was being built in the southern part of what now is the reservation; missionaries became active and schools began their program of cultural destruction and murder. Yet during this period of readjustment and adaptation, the beauty within the Navajo found continuing expression in their clothes, their weaving, their crafts, and their faces and personalities. Silversmithing became a craft of importance during this time while Navajo weaving changed from a craft which was largely produced for local consumption and use in which blankets were worn, to a craft which was produced largely for the outside market which revolved around the weaving of rugs for the floor.

It is exciting and revealing to closely examine the photographs contained in this book because they show what words can never express and what written history can never adequately describe and that is the people who lived at that time and at that place. The Navajo adult who takes the time to look closely at the faces and the people and the events photographed may well be looking at their own ancestors and certainly are looking at a people about whom every contemporary Navajo should be proud because they carried on the Navajo tradition and they did not lose their life and culture during this period of profound stress and chaos.

If these photographs reveal anything, they reveal the power and the beauty and the dignity and the purpose of a people who truly are *"The People"* who have been and today are blessed and protected by the Holy People.

---

1. Ruth Roessel, *Navajo Stories of the Long Walk Period*, Navajo Community College, 1973.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Dedication 5
Acknowledgments 6
Forward 7
Introduction 10
Table of Contents 12

PART I NAVAJO LIFE AND CULTURE

CHAPTER 1 FORT SUMNER 19
Discussion 20
Fort Sumner Photographs
Indian Warriors 35
Navajo Indians 36
Navajo Indian Chiefs 37
Corn Husking Party 38
Navajo Warriors 39
Indian Corn Fields 39
Corn Husking Party of Navajos 40
Indian Issue House and Navajos 41
Indian Issue House 42
Fort Sumner 43
Near Fort Sumner 44
Company Quarters, Fort Sumner 45
Quarter Master Corral 45
Street View, Fort Sumner 46
Fort Sumner 47
Troops at Fort Sumner 48
Men, Officers and Tents of Company B, First New Mexico Infant 49
Erection of Company Quarters, Fort Sumner 50
Navajo Adobe Yard, Fort Sumner 51
Enlisted Men's Barracks 51
Troops and Indians 52
Counting Indians 53
Navajo Indians 54

Fort Sumner 55
Navajo man 56
Navajo Thieves 57
Two Navajo Girls 58
Navajo Girl 59
Navajo Men 60
Navajo Girls 61
Navajo Woman and Baby 62
Basic Common Elements Observable in Fort Sumner Photographs 63
Comments on Select Fort Sumner Photographs 64

CHAPTER 2 FORT DEFIANCE - ISSUE OF RATIONS
Discussion 68
Fort Defiance Photographs
Fort Defiance - 1860 73
Agent's Quarters 73
Group of Navaho with Governor F.M. Arny 74
Navajoe Indian Dance 75
Issue of Rations 76
Issue of Rations 77
Issue of Rations 78
Navajo Group on Issue Day 79
Hauling Supplies to Fort Defiance 80
Fort Defiance 81
Base Camp #1 81
Soldiers In Camp 82
Officer's Quarters 82
Comments on Select Fort Defiance Photographs 83

CHAPTER 3 NAVAJO DELEGATION TO WASHINGTON
Discussion 84
Navajo Delegation of Washington Photographs
Navajo Delegation to Washington, D.C. 1874 85
Governor Arny 86
Juanita and Governor Arny 86
Navajo Indians With Blankets Made By Them 87
Group Of Navaho Men 88
Comments on Select Navajo Delegation to Washington Photographs 89

CHAPTER 4 NAVAJO WEAVING

Discussion 90

Navajo Weaving Photographs

Aboriginal Life Among Navajo Indians 91

Woman Weaving 92

Navajo Man 93

Navajo Woman 94

Two Women Spinning 95

Blanket and Belt Weaving 96

Woman Weaving 97

Navaho Woman Weaving A Blanket 98

Girl Weaving A Rug 99

Many Horses' Squaw and Loom 100

Comments on Select Navajo Weaving Photographs 101

CHAPTER 5 NAVAJO CRAFTS

Discussion 103

Navajo Crafts Photographs

Pesh-lakai-ilhini, Hammering Silver 105

Peshlakai, Silversmith 106

Working Silversmith and Young Girl 107

Silver Bead Necklace With Naja Pendant 108

Silver Squash Blossom Necklace 108

Silver Conchas 109

Silver Button Designs 109

Minature Silver Flask 110

Silver Ornaments 110

Silver Bracelet With Turquoise Inlays 111

Large Silver Bracelet With Multiple Turquoise Inlays 111

Silver Bracelet With Turquoise Inlay 111

Silver Bracelet, incised Decoration 111

Bow Case and Quiver 112

Leather Tobacco Bag 112

Leather Belt and Bag 112

Navajo Saddle 113

Comments on Select Navajo Crafts Photographs 114

CHAPTER 6 NAVAJO EDUCATION

Discussion 115

Navajo Education Phhotographs
School Children 121
Navajoes arrivingg at Carlisle School 122
Navajoes Six Monnths After Arrival At Carlisle School 122
Tom Toslino, Upoon Arrival At Carlisle School 123
Tom Toslino, Aftter Three Years At Carlisle School 123
Bilii Lizhin (Blackk Horse) and Taijoni (Squeeser) 124
Comments On Selectt Navajo Education Phc:ographs 125

CHAPTER 7 NAVAAJO HOGANS
Navajo Hogans Phottographs
House of Charleyy the Weaver 126
An Earth Lodge or Hogan 127
A Shepherd By HHis Hogan At Dawn 128
A Medicine Hut and Brush Shelter 129

CHAPTER 8 NAVAAJOLAND
Discussion 130
Navajoland Photographs
Camp Beauty at Canon de Chelle 134
Salt Butte, Arizonna Territory 135

PART II NAVAJO PEOPLE
CHAPTER 9 NAVAAJO PEOPLE AS SEEN IN GOVERNMENT REPORTS
Discussion 137

CHAPTER 10 NAVAAJO WOMEN
Photographs
Woman and Child 151
Juanita 152
Hedipa 153
Navajo Woman 154
Minky Pinky 155
Old Washie 156
Navajo Girl, Woman and Baby 157
Esta-yeshi 158
Anselina 159

Navajo Woman With Baby 160
Woman With baby 160
Pachie 161
Navajo Woman 162
Daughter of Mariana 163
Navajo Woman 163
Jose's Squaw and Papoose 164
Navajo Woman and Daughter 165
Navajo Woman and Baby 166
Woman With Baby 167
Mrs. Vicente Bigay With Baby 168
Mother and Child 168
Navajo Grandmother 169

CHAPTER 11 NAVAJO MEN

Photographs

Navajo Brave 170
Barboncito or Little Beard 171
Carnero Mucho 172
Manuelito, War Chief 173
Narbona Primero, Sub-Chief 174
Ganado Mucho or Much Cattle 175
Cayatanita, Brother Of Manuelito 176
Manuelito Segundo 177
Barbas Hueros or Light Beard 178
Cabra-Negra 179
Navajo Wrestler 180
Navajo Shaman 181
Aged Tribesman 182
Carero Mucho 182
Juan, the Trader 183
Navajo Scout 183
Navajo Scout 184
Henry Chee Dodge, Navajo Leader 184
Navajo Medicine Man 185
Torlino, Navajo Chief 186
Largo, Navajo Scout 187
Peshlakai-ilhinni, the Silversmith 188
Navajo Man 188

Man in Navajo Dress 189
Navajo Summer Camp 190
Black Horse 191
Charley, the Weaver 192
Man Holding A Rifle 193
Has-Kin-Cli 194
Peshlakietsethy or White Silversmith 195
She-she-nez 195
Old Rain Gauge 196
Navajo Man In Native Dress 196
Chief Blanket Worn By Navaho 197
Hostyn Pequoting 197
The Wolf, Navajo Man 198
Pe-shi-ka-i-ci-ty, Head Chief 198
Pedro Begay 199
Navajo Boy 199
Hosteen Belody 200
Hostin-nez, Head Councillor 200
Civente, Chief of the Navajos 201

CHAPTER 12 NAVAJO CHILDREN

Photographs

Navajo Boy 202
Navajo 203
Navajo Boy 204
Young Tribesman 204
Navajo Boy 205
Nadespa 205
Wife of Jake (Silversmith) and Her Brother 206
Children of Pesh-lakai-ilhinni 206
Navajo Boy 207
Children of Pesh-lakai-ilhini 208
Ah-Zhi-Ne 208

CHAPTER 13 NAVAJO GROUPS

Photographs

Group Of Three 209
Navajo Squaws and Child 210
Navajo Brave and His Mother 211

Domestic Scene Among The Navajoe Indians 212
Navajoe Boys and Squaw 213
Men In Costume 214
Atta-Kai-bi-tzu-ih and Charlie 215
Manuelito and Wife 216
Charlie Mitchell and Atta-Kai-bi-tzu-ih 217
Pedro, Gayetenito, Biziz, Navajo Scouts 218
Vicente, Pitacio and Juana 219
Pedro and Anselina 220
Vicenti and Germanita 221
Navaho Man and Woman 222
Navajo Family 223
Navajo Camp 224
Navajo Camp 224
Chin-dash and Clizi-bega 225
Navajo Hogan 226
Navajo Indian Scouts 227
Navajo Women and Children 228
Russell Sage and Squaw 228
Jake (Silversmith), Wife and Brother-in-law 229
Ben Damon and Brother-in-law, Also A Woman 229
Pesh-lakai-ilhini 230
Two Young Men 230
W.N. Wallace (Navajo Bill), Den-ne-hi-a-ji or Capt. Sam and Pin-zes-bah . . . 231
Navajo Man With White Man 231
Navajo Chiefs In Hogan 232
Navajo Indians Selling Ponies 233
Navajo Ponys 233
Navajo Indians Gambling 234
Navaho Men Gambling 234
Navajo Family, Antonito's 235
Navajos At Faith Mission, Utah 235
Mixed Group 236
Hoskaninni With Companion 236

BIBLIOGRAPHY 237

APPENDIX 240

19

PART I

NAVAJO LIFE AND CULTURE

CHAPTER ONE

FORT SUMNER

DISCUSSION

The Fort Sumner experience was certainly one of the most traumatic experiences the Navajo ever suffered and endured. They were removed from within the confines of their sacred mountains and forced to walk hundreds of miles to a distant land with no mountains, where human experimentation was conducted in an effort to force the Navajos to change from a proud independent pastoral people to village dwelling dependent agricultural people. Increasing evidence suggests more Navajos than had originally been thought, escaped the net-work of destruction and annihilation woven by General Carlton and Kit Carson and so ably assisted by almost every other group of people in the Southwest including Americans, Spanish Americans, Utes, Hopis, Zunis, and other Pueblos. The Navajos were hunted as one would hunt a rabbit or a deer and dispatched or captured with equal glee and pleasure.

The character of a nation is determined and revealed not by its successes and its triumphs but rather by its adversities and its disasters. It is in periods of tragedy and desolation and hopelessness that the true nature of a people is discovered. Few nations in the world have endured such hardships as have the Navajo. Yet, instead of being broken, crushed and bitter by this concentration camp experience the Navajos grew stronger and their roots went deeper. This increased strength of the Navajo in face of such tribulation can be attributed mostly, perhaps entirely, to Navajo religion and to the faith and belief the Navajo people had in their Holy People. They never gave up.

These photographs reveal much of the human element that comprised the Fort Sumner experiment. The clothing of the Navajo, particularly the heavy striped blanket show the type of dress the Navajos wore during the 1860's. One must remember that most, certainly much, of the labor necessary to construct a fort where there was no fort (including quarters, commissary, hospital, officers' quarters, and so forth) was done by the Navajos themselves who were conscripted and forced to do such labor. One cannot help but be reminded of the Jewish People during the Babylonian and other captivities where they were subjected to a similiar type of foreign captivity dominated by the actions of the conqueror which were designed to destroy the morale and will of a people. From this heartrending suffering on the part of the Jewish people came the strength, power, and the beauty of what today we describe as the Judo-Christian ethic.

The Reports of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs contained in this chapter on Fort Sumner were included so as to illustrate the kinds of problems which forced the Army in their unprecendented effort to remake an entire nation (the Navajos) into the image desired by a single individual, General James H. Carleton.

Many of the statements contained in these Annual Reports appear to be designed to emphasize the positive and describe Bosque Redondo (another name for Fort Sumner) as a veritable paradise while others are merely a reflection of the way the writer saw or thought he should see Fort Sumner. Most of these Reports and letters are by Carleton.

Letter from James H. Carleton, Commanding Officer Department of New Mexico to Major Henry D. Wallen, Commanding Officer Fort Sumner, New Mexico dated February 28, 1863.[1]

MAJOR: Captain Bristol arrived here this morning. He said that flour seems to be unwholesome food for the Navajos. It is, doubtless, because they do not cook their bread properly, and eat too much of it. They have been accustomed to food which had greater bulk in proportion to the nutriment it contained. I have ordered corn-meal to be sent to you for them, and have contracted for unbolted wheatmeal. Until this arrives, issue wheat or corn to them as a change for food. They can make matates, and grind it as Mexicans do. You are admonished to see that the utmost economy is observed, both by troops and by the Indians, at your post. The drain now upon the commissariat is so great it will require every commander to give his personal attention to this matter, or we shall soon be upon diminished rations.

There are no more old tents to send you. The condemned tents have usually been ordered to be made up into sacks for corn. Your Navajos must make wigwams. This brings me to the thought to ask you to plan a pueblo-town for them. The buildings should be but one story high, and face to the placitas. By a proper arrangement - dead-wall on the outside, and the buildings arranged so as to mutually defend each other in fighting on the parapets - a very handsome and strong place could be made by the Indians themselves - that is, against small-arms. By having a judicious site selected, and the spare time of the families spent in putting up their houses, by next winter they can all be comfortably sheltered. Then to have trees planted to make shade, and I fancy there would be no Indian village in the world to compare with it in point of beauty. Over three thousand Navajos have surrendered, and many are coming with stock which is their own. It was a condition, if they came voluntarily and surrendered with their stock, it should be theirs, and they should take it with them; if they held out and we came and captured their stock, then the stock was ours. When these Indians with stock come, if they are willing to sell any that is not breeding stock, you can buy it, and pay what is fair for it, as fresh meat. This will alike teach them the relative value of stock and of money. In my opinion there are not over five thousand Navajos in all. I believe I shall have them all at the Bosque within three months.

You have by far the most important command in this department. That you will exercise forecast and devote all your thoughts, time and energy to the great work of colonizing this historic and formidable band of Indians, I fully believe.

Abstract of Papers Accompanying Report of J. K. Graves, Special Agent, Relative to Indian Affairs in New Mexico. - 1865[2]

. . . No. 8. - The Navajos at Bosque Redondo.

This reservation, on the Pecos river, comprises forty square miles, with Fort Sumner as a centre. A principal acequia or irrigating canal, seven miles long, supplies the lateral canals necessary. There were 2,000 acres under cultivation by the Navajos, who were running forty-seven ploughs. Vines and fruit trees were coming forward well. Vegetables grow to great size. South of the fort and east of the Pecos river there are 2,000 acres more of arable land, and more in the immediate vicinity. There is a fine growth of young cottonwoods coming forward, which will eventually furnish fuel. Mesquit root is now plenty for fuel, and other kinds at a distance of twenty-five miles.

1. *Condition of Indian Tribes - Report of the Joint Special Committee, 1867,* p. 161
2. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1866,* Washington, 1866, pp.135-137.

which can be cut and floated down the river. Pasturage of nutritious grass is abundant; water good, though sometimes brackish. The capacity of the reservation is thought sufficient for both Navajos and Apaches, but the latter should not be located with the former, as they are not friendly. Four hundred soldiers now keep the peace, but if the Navajos were sent back to their own country, an army would be necessary. The land should be surveyed into small lots and divided among the families.

One Jesse Norton, of California, is said to claim a title to the reservation, under an old Spanish grant. All claimants of such grants should be required to present and prove their claims.

The military authorities had on hand, in February last, supplies for the Navajos for 300 days. The cost of rations from January 11 to December 31, 1865, to the War Department, was $748,307.87. Mr. Graves thinks the Indians could be supported for $675,000.

The proceedings of a board of officers which met at Fort Sumner in April 1865, presents an interesting commentary on the Navajo and their relationship with the United States Government.[1] The function of this group was to develop a "better organization of the Navajo Tribe of Indians, to the end that more easy control can be had of their labor, and that the fruits of that labor may best conduce to their permanent support."[2]

Several observations appear in order:

1. The knowledge about the Navajo Tribe by the Army was often false: for example, the Navajo were described as "Patriarchal."
2. The Navajo were to be converted into village dwellers which would have limited local self-government.
3. An elaborate court system was established which was always subject to final government authority.
4. An important element was to provide a "legal" framework so as to force Navajos to work in the fields.
5. Navajo "leaders" chosen and approved by the Army received special benefits and privileges.

Proceedings of a Board of Officers which met at Fort Sumner, New Mexico, April 26, 1865.[3]

The board met pursuant to the foregoing order - all the members present - and after a careful consideration of the subjects presented for its action, respectfully sumits the following report:

Bearing in mind the fact that the government of the Navajos has always been patriarchal, without a recognized or acknowledged head of the nation, and that each chief had supreme control of his own family or band, it became apparent to the board that this form of government should be adopted as far as practicable and consistent with the interests of the government and the good of the tribe.

The first step towards this end is the dividing them off into villages, at say half a mile apart, the farm of each village to be in its immediate front, and the number of villages to be twelve, this being the number of principal men having families or bands. To each village there should be one principal chief, whose duty it will be to carry out and enforce all laws given him for the government of his village, or any instructions he may receive at any time from the commanding officer, both to be fully and clearly explained to him by the interpreters. He will be held responsible for the order and police of his village. He will make a report at retreat every evening of the state of his

1. *Condition of Indian Tribes, op. cit.*, pp. 307-311.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 307.
3. *Ibid.* pp. 307-311.

village during the day, and if there are any absentees. Should any of his people leave the reservation during the day he will immediately report the fact to the commanding officer or officer of the day. He will see that none of his people leave their village between the hours of 7 o'clock p.m. and 5 o'clock a.m. in winter, and 7 o'clock p.m. and 4 o'clock a.m. in summer.

To each village, there will be subchiefs at the rate of one to every one hundred souls. They will be appointed by the chief, and will retain their offices during good behavior. Their duties will consist in aiding the chief to execute the laws, and, in conjunction with him, as president, will form a court for the trial of minor offences, and for arbitration, in their respective villages.

The head chiefs of the respective villages will form a superior court, presided over by the commanding officer, or some officer especially appointed, who will be furnished with a clerk and the necessary interpreters. This court will be, in jurisdiction, analogous to a general court martial, as will the inferior or village court to that of a regimental or garrison courtmartial.

The indictment, finding, and sentence of the court will be duly recorded in a book to be kept for that purpose, a correct attested copy of which will be submitted to the department commander, through the commanding officer, at least one week after each trial.

The department commander has power to pardon or mitigate the sentence of the court.

The chiefs or members of the court will be the jurors, and presiding officer the judge.

Appeals from decisions of the inferior or village courts will be heard and determined by this court.

It is the desire of the board to have the system of jurisprudence as simple as possible, and therefore think that from the decision of this court there should be no appeal, as there is still left a power to mitigate or pardon.

These courts organized, as in the foregoing, will decide upon all questions in law and equity, the inferior court confining itself to cases within its jurisdiction.

The court should assemble every three months on simple notifcation of day by the judge. The twelve chiefs will also form a superior council to be presided over by an officer, who will control their proceedings, and prevent the discussion of any matters dangerous to the peace and welfare of the reservation. Its functions will be exclusively deliberative, and it can entertain no question which should properly come before one of the courts. It should assemble every three months for the transaction of business, but may be assembled at any time the commanding officer may think necessary.

A chief may be removed from office by the commanding officer, whenever in his judgement the public service demands it, or he may be removed from misconduct by a two-thirds vote of his peers.

When a vacancy occurs in the position of chief, it will be filled by appointment by the commanding officer, but his choice is restricted to the subchief of the village in which the vacancy occurs.

In submitting the following articles the board wishes it understood that it has embraced only such offences as are peculiarly applicable to these people in their present transition state. It would be impracticable to provide in a report of this description for the punishment of all the crimes and offences known to our laws, nearly all of which are equally incidental to these people as to the same numbers of a more civilized community, under similar circumstances. But to guard against the permitting of offenders to go unpunished, and to a gradual and wholesome dread of outraging the law, it is recommended that the criminal laws of the Territory be so amended as to somewhat modify the penalties, and furnished to the officer designated to preside over their courts for his guidance in all cases which might arise. It may appear unjust to punish people for a violation of laws which they do not only not understand, but have heretofore been taught to regard as the highest virtue to break. But it must be

recollected that these Indians have got to be made to respect the bonds which unite civilized society, and the only practical way of doing this is by inflicting a punishment, however light, for the first offence, and increasing the punishment in proportion to the increase of knowledge, until its severity would prevent further repetition. This is the only possible mode of instructing them on the subject of the law:

ARTICLE 1. Any adult Indian guilty of murder in the first or second degree will be punished by hanging by the neck until dead, by lashes, or by fine or imprisonment with hard labor, according to the degree of the offence.

ARTICLE 2. Theft will be punished with lashes, fines, or imprinsonment with hard labor, according to the degree of the offence.

ARTICLE 3. Any able-bodied Indian absenting himself from the necessary work on his farm, or the acequia, or who shall refuse to perform such work, shall be confined at hard labor for a period not less than one week nor more than two months.

ARTICLE 4. Any Indian who shall wantonly destroy the tools or implements furnished him by the government, or who shall lose the same through neglect, shall forfeit from the proceeds of his farm an amount equal to the damage sustained, and shall be confined at hard labor, as in the preceding article.

ARTICLE 5. Any Indian who shall wantonly destroy any trees or farm produce on the reservation shall be confined at hard labor as in article 3.

ARTICLE 6. Any adult Indian who shall be found absent from his or her village between the hours of 7 o'clock p.m. and 5 o'clock a.m. in winter, and 8 o'clock p.m. and 4 o'clock a.m. in summer, shall be imprisoned as in article 3.

ARTICLE 7. Any Indian who shall absent himself from the reservation without permission from the proper authority shall be confined at hard labor as in article 3.

ARTICLE 8. Females shall not be subject to capital punishment or the infliction of lashes. The Indians of this reservation have been more than once unjustly charged with the commission of offences against the citizens outside of the reserve, and with a view to prevent the probability of cause for such complaints, as well as to secure the presence of the Indian and his labor, some of the foregoing articles were framed.

Recommendations

1. That as capital punishment for the crime of murder is unknown among them, it be resorted to only in extreme cases.

2. That there be employed one factor and six assistants to each village. The duties of the factor will be to take charge of, and be responsible for, all tools, implements, and seeds belonging to the village; to superintend and direct the labor on the farm; to receive and keep an accurate account of the produce of each Indian's garden, and to issue it back to them in such quantities and under such regulations as the commanding officer may direct. He will be under the control of the commanding officer, to whom he will render accounts for examination.

3. That the factor and his assistants receive a liberal compensation, so as to secure the services of competent and reliable men.

4. That the compensation of the factor and assistants, as well as all other incidental expenses, be deducted from the surplus produce of the farms, but that in case of total failure of the crops, or in the event of there being no surplus, then the employees will be paid with government funds, provided such failure of the crops or lack of surplus was not the result of their neglect, in which case they should be discharged, forfeiting all pay due them.

5. Should it become necessary at any time, from total or partial failure of the crops, for the government to issue the Indian rations, pay the employes, or be at any other incidental expense, that the government be reimbursed by a gradual tax on the produce of the farms, the tax to be uniform, so as not to bear too heavy on the industrious, and the assessment to be made by a board of officers.

6. That for each village there be erected a substantial store-house for tools, implements, seeds, and produce, with accommodations for the factor and his assistants.

7. That a suitable building be erected in a central place for a court-house and council-room, with accommodations for prisoners, guard, etc.

8. That the chief of each village, willing to live in a house, have a suitable one built for him, and that where they prefer lodges, assistance be rendered them to build ones of a superior description.

9. That, when establishing the villages, the lodges be erected so that they be made as comfortable and commodious as their peculiar formation will permit.

10. That an appropriate and comfortable uniform be furnished the chiefs semi-annually.

11. That, in order to give authority and consequence to the chiefs, they should be treated with the utmost consideration by the military authorities; and that they may be induced to value their positions, they should receive occasional presents, and thereby insure a strict and faithful discharge of their duties.

12. In order to wean the Indians from their present helpless dependence on the military power, that in future all complaints must be submitted to the respective chiefs and their courts for redress and settlement, and not as heretofore to the post commander.

13. That, with the same object in view, the direct issue of rations by the military authorities be discontinued as speedily as possible. So long as the present system continues the Indian is well aware that he will not be permitted to want, whether he works or not, and takes advantage of the fact to satisfy his natural inclination to idleness.

14. That immediate measures be taken to erect a suitable church and school-house.

15. That as some of these Indians, known as "Cebolletanos," are now professedly Roman Catholics, as this is the religion of the country, and as this church alone possesses the necessary organization and means to accomplish the reformation and education of these Indians, that the church and school-house be placed under the control of ministers of that denomination.

16. That in the event of the church being willing to put up, at its own expense, the necessary buildings, a suitable site be selected, and the ground be granted by the government without cost or taxes to the head of the church in New Mexico; provided that it can never be transferred or disposed of, nor used for any other purpose; and providing, also, that the buildings are erected in a reasonable time, and will revert to the government, with all improvements, whenever they cease to be used for religious and educational purposes.

17. That a board of visitors be appointed semi-annually to inspect the schools and report upon their condition, and the progress of the scholars.

18. That no traders be permitted to enter the reservation for purposes of traffic, except by special permission of the commanding officer, with the approval of the department commander, and then only under such regulations as will secure the Indians against the possibility of fraud.

19. That all articles be considered contraband, except such as contribute to their health and comfort.

20. That the sale to the Indians of arms, ammunition, and intoxicating liquors be positively prohibited.

21. That the purchase of horses by the Indians be prohibited, and the raising of them be discouraged being unprofitable, and only used by them as means of locomotion, when the object is to confine them to the reservation.

22. That there be an annual prize given to the Indian who raises the largest and best crop of cereals in proportion to the size of his farm.

23. That all expenses, of whatever description, which the government may be at in the future for the benefit of these Indians, be deducted from the surplus produce of their farms and refunded.

24. As the Indians depend almost entirely for clothing of every description on the wool of the sheep, that for the next three years the produce of their farms, over and

above the amount required for their support, and to defray incidental expenses, be converted into sheep, under the direction of the subsistence department. This will be the means of supplying a great want of these people, and, by giving proper occupation to the females, tend to promote industry and virtue.

Owing to the illness of one of the members, the board has been prevented in furnishing their report at an earlier day. It is now respectfully submitted.

WM.McCLEAVE
Major 1st Cal. Cav., President.

LAWRENCE G. MURPHY
Captain 1st Cav. New Mexico Vols, Recorder

There being no further business before the board, it adjourned sine die.

WM. McCLEAVE
Major 1st Cal. Cav., President

LAWRENCE G. MURPHY
Captain 1st Cav. New Mexico Vols, Recorder

DEPARTMENT OF NEW MEXICO,
Sante Fe, N.M., July 5, 1865

Official:

BEN C. CUTLER,
Assistant Adjutant General

Letter from D. N. Cooley, Commissioner of Indian Affairs to James Harlan, Secretary of Interior dated May 1, 1866.[1]

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th March, 1866, with copies of correspondence with the War Department, relative to the future subsistence of the Indians at the Bosque Redondo reservation, in New Mexico, and directing an estimate to be prepared of such appropriations as may be required to provide for said Indians during the next fiscal year.

These Indians are captives; they were placed upon the present reservation by the military authorities, and have heretofore been cared for mainly by the War Department. Their only means of subsistence are agriculture and the charity of the government. They have been brought from their country by force, and if allowed to roam and hunt, they would return to the mountains fastnesses, and again commence war with the whites. One campaign against them then would cost more than to keep them ten years where they are. Taking it for granted that they are to remain where they are, and be cared for as heretofore, I have, as data to go upon in making an estimate, first, the actual cost of subsistence purchased for them during the year 1865, by the War Department, as given in General Carleton's report of February 5, 1866 . . . second, the estimate of General Eaton, commissary general of subsistence, as to what will be the cost of subsisting 6,000 Indians, at the Bosque Redondo, during the present fiscal year, a copy of which is herewith; third, a general estimate made by J.K. Graves, a special commissioner sent out by this department in September last, to make investigation into the conduct of the Indian service in New Mexico; and, fourth, the cost of articles of subsistence, as ascertained from late accounts and reports from Indian agents in New Mexico.

The report General Carleton shows that the cost of subsistence furnished in 1865, after deducting produce raised on the reservation, [valued at $73,246.93] was

1. *Report of the Commissioner 1866, op. cit.* pp. 142-144.

$694,226.27. The cost of transporting this I have been unable to ascertain; but as military supplies for New Mexico are purchased in St. Louis and taken by land, the land transportation from Leavenworth alone would amount [allowing two pounds per day to each person subsisted] to about $80,000. Taking into consideration the cost of transportation from St. Louis to Leavenworth, the cost of cartage and other incidental expenses, the cost of subsisting these Indians during the year 1865 could not have been less than $1,500,000. General Eaton estimates that the cost of subsistence during the current fiscal year will be $638,848.73. This, of course, does not include transporation, and is based upon the supposition that the number of Indians to be subsisted will be 6,000. The average number subsisting during the last calendar year, as reported by General Carleton, was 7,909. General Eaton gives no reason for supporting that this number will be reduced to 6,000, but says it is probable.

Special Commissioner Graves estimates, in round numbers that the cost of subsisting these Indians during the next fiscal year will be $676,000. But the data upon which I have based as estimate is the market price, in New Mexico, of flour, beef, and salt - the only articles of subsistence which, in my judgement, need be furnished. The cost of these articles there will be, as nearly as can be ascertained, 15 1/2 cents per pound for flour, 13 cents for beef, and 10 cents for salt.

Taking as correct the supposition of General Eaton, that the number of Indians to be subsisted will be reduced to 6,000, and allowing one pound of flour and one of beef to each Indian, and three pounds of salt to each one hundred, daily, the cost of subsistence will amount to $630,720. The value of produce raised last year in the reservation is estimated by General Carleton at $73,246,93. Although the crops in New Mexico are uncertain, I presume the Indians will raise subsistence during the next fiscal year to the amount of $100,000, which will leave to be provided by the government, subsistence to the value of $530,720, including transportation to the reservation.

The Indians of course must be clothed; but, as they have shown remarkable skill and ingenuity in making blankets and clothing when furnished with raw material, would suggest that they be furnished with sheep. In this way they will be able to procure clothing, and eventually, subsistence. I think there should be eight thousand sheep purchased, which, delivered on the reservation will cost twenty-four thousand dollars. In addition to this, there should be cotton goods purchased for them to the amount of at least fifteen thousand dollars.

For agricultural implements General Carleton recommends that a liberal appropriation be made, in order that the agricultural resources of the reservation may be developed, and the Indians become self-sustaining. I fully concur in his views in this matter and would suggest that the sum of twenty thousand dollars, at least, be appropriated for this object.

It has long been in contemplation by the military authorities to erect a grist-mill on the reservation. Some arrangement for grinding is evidently necessary, but the cost of a grist-mill, including transportation of material, would amount to over thirty thousand dollars. I would therefore suggest that portable mills be provided and that the sum of five thousand dollars be appropriated for this object.

There are no buildings on this reservation except two storehouses, erected by the military authorities at a cost of eighteen thousand dollars, and a few adobe huts. When this department assumes the control of these Indians, it will be necessary to provide a house for the agent upon the reservation, and also houses for the employes. Owing to the distance from the agency where building material can be procured, this will be expensive. All the timber in that vicinity suitable for building purposes has been used in the construction of Fort Sumner, leaving none nearer than eighty miles. Therefore, to erect houses for the agent, physician, farmer, teachers, blacksmith, miller, carpenter, laborer, and interpreter, will cost at least twenty thousand dollars.

The accommodations for the sick on the reservation consist of two small adobe huts capable of accommodating about fifteen persons. These are, of course, wholly inadequate for hospital purposes, and I would therefore suggest that an appropriation of fifteen hundred dollars be made for this object, and five hundred dollars for medical supplies

Common humanity will render the foregoing appropriations necessary. The interest of the government in rendering these Indians a self-sustaining community by advancing them in civilization will render others necessary.

They should have a blacksmith shop, supplied with tools, iron and steel, and a blacksmith should be provided. They should have a miller to teach them the use of portable mills, so that they may grind their own grain. They should also have a physician, carpenter, and interpreter; and to encourage them in learning trades a few of them should be paid as laborers or apprentices. Some provision should also be made for the education of the children, who numbered in January last, according to the report of Captain Bristol, 2,486.

I would therefore suggest that an appropriation be made for the following employes, at the rates set opposite each:

One physician, at a salary of	*$1,800*
One superintendent of farming, at a salary of	*1,200*
One blacksmith, at a salary of	*900*
One miller, at a salary of	*900*
One carpenter, at a salary of	*900*
Two teachers, at a salary of $800 each	*1,600*
Six laborers, at a salary of $400 each	*2,400*
TOTAL	*9,700*

And that the sum of four thousand dollars be appropriated for the establishment and support of two schools.

To enable the Indians to carry on farming operations to an extent sufficient to make them self-sustaining, they must be provided with work-cattle, wagons, &c., in addition to the agricultural implements. The most economical way in which this can be done will be to purchase a train on the Missouri, and use it in transporting the goods, agricultural implements, &c., to be purchased for the Indians in the east. The train will cost very little more than the simple cost of transportation, and when it arrives at the reservation will be worth about as much as it cost on the Missouri. For this object, and for all cost of transporting the goods, (say 90,000 pounds) I would suggest an appropriation of thirty thousand six hundred and fifty dollars, as follows:

For 20 wagons, at $225 each	*$ 4,500*
For 120 yoke of oxen, $130 each	*15,600*
For pay of two wagon-masters five months, $125 per month	*1,250*
For pay of 20 teamsters five months, $60 per month	*6,000*
Provisions for 22 employes five months, $30 per month	*3,300*
TOTAL	*$30,650*

There may, and no doubt will, be some expenditures, necessary which cannot now be foreseen, and I have therefore included in the estimate herewith submitted an item of two thousand dollars for such contingencies. This estimate, which takes into account the cost of subsistence, clothing, all necessary agricultural assistance, transportation, and the advancement of the Indians in civilization, (heretofore entirely neglected) will amount to six hundred and sixty-seven thousand and seventy dollars which is twenty-seven thousand and one hundred and fifty six dollars and twenty-seven cents less than the simple cost of the subsistence alone furnished by the War Department during the last year, and less than the land transportation of subsistence alone from Leavenworth to the Bosque Redondo would cost.

As it seems to be the intention of the War Department to turn these Indians over to this department at the commencement of the next fiscal year, I would respectfully suggest that this estimate be submitted to Congress, with the request that action be taken upon it at as early a day as practicable.

Estimate of appropriation required for the settlement and support of the Navajo Indians on the Bosque Redondo reservation in New Mexico for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1867.

29

For the purchase and transportation of subsistence for the 6,000 Indians	$530,720
For the purchase and transportation of clothing for the 6,000 Indians	15,000
For the purchase and transportation of 8,000 head of sheep	24,000
For the purchase and transportation of agricultural implements and seed	20,000
For the establishment and support of a blacksmith shop, including tools, iron, steel, &c.	4,000
For the purchase of a portable grist-mill	5,000
For the erection and support of hospitals, and purchase of medical supplies	2,000
For the establishment and support of two schools	4,000
For the erection of Buildings for the agent & employes	20,000
For the pay of one physician, one farmer, one blacksmith, one miller, one carpenter, two teachers and six apprentices	9,700
For the purchase of wagons and oxen, and expenses of transporting goods and agricultural implements	30,650
Contingent expenses	2,000
TOTAL	$ 667,070

Letter from Theodore H. Dodd, United Indian Agent for Navajos, Navajo Agency Fort Sumner, N.M. to Colonel A. B. Norton, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Santa Fe, New Mexico, dated August 28, 1866.[1]

SIR: In compliance with the regulations of the Indian department, I have the honor to present my first annual report. I must necessarily be brief, as I have but recently taken charge of the agency. I arrived here on the 28th day of June last with a train of annuity goods and agricultural implements, consisting of one hundred and sixty head of cattle and seventeen large freight wagons, loaded with goods and implements, purchased by Mr. J.K. Graves, special Indian agent for New Mexico, last fall, for Navajos.

There are now on the reservation of all ages and sexes, 6,915 Navajos; a large majority of whom appear to be contented and satisfied to remain on the reservation. In July last the Comanche Indians made a dash on the reservation, and succeeded in killing four Navajos, and captured one hundred head of their horses. After this raid some of the Navajos appeared dissatisfied, and expressed a desire to go to their old country, stating they could not live in peace on the reservation, as it was located on land belonging to the Comanches. They were assured that the reservation was for them, and the Comanches would be punished for trespassing upon their domains, since which time I have not heard any dissatisfaction expressed.

On the 1st of August last, two Navajos arrived at the Bosque from the Navajo country, one of whom was a son of Manueleto, a Navajo chief, who refused to come to the reservation with this band. These Indians say they were sent by Manueleto and other head men to ascertain if they would be permitted to come to and live at the reservation, and that they were afraid that they would be punished if they gave themselves up, especially those that ran away from the reservation last year.

I gave these two Indians passes to return to their old country and report to Manueleto and their friends the manner the Indians were treated on the reservation, and to say to them that they could come to and live at the reservation, and that they would not be harmed, but treated like their people now located there. They started away, apparently well pleased with the appearance of the Bosque.

Since their departure, one hundred and twenty-two Navajos have arrived at the reservation from their old country, forty-two men, forty women and forty children, all of whom except four deserted from the reservation last year; they were naked, sickly-looking, and had the appearance of being starved. They report that their people now in their old country are in a starving and destitute condition; that they were constantly being harrassed by the troops and Indians hostile to them; that they could not raise any crops, and that all would come to the reservation if permitted to do so. I

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 148-150.

am of the opinion that nearly all those running at large will come to the reservation before winter sets in.

There is now under cultivation on the reservation about three thousand eight hundred acres of land, two thousand eight hundred acres of which is a government farm, and the balance, one thousand acres, is cultivated exclusively by the Indians. The whole is under the control of the commanding officer of Fort Sumner. Non-commissioned officers and privates are detailed as overseers of the government farm, and the Indians perform most of the labor of making acequias, ploughing, planting, hoeing, &c.; a commissioned officer is selected to take charge and manage the working of the farm. The land is planted in wheat, corn, oats, barley, pumpkins, melons, &c. A large portion of the farm is, however, planted in corn, about one-quarter of which looks promising, but the balance will not yield more than one-third of a crop, which failure is attributed to bad seed. I am of the opinion that the failure may be attributed to the inexperience of those who superintend the Indians and manage the farm.

I am satisfied that officers who have been selected to take charge of the farm have used every effort and done everything in their power to succeed in raising good crops; but it cannot be expected that they could succeed with inexperienced men to superintend the Indians in their labor. Soldiers are detailed for this duty; many of them know but little about farming; those that are acquainted with farming will not take the necessary interest, as they were not enlisted for this purpose.

I would suggest that four thousand acres of good land be cultivated as a government farm for the purpose of subsisting the Navajos in the following manner, which, if adopted, and properly managed, I think it will produce sufficient breadstuffs to subsist them, and surplus to pay off many of the employes.

Divide the four thousand acres into ten lots or fields; employ, to superintend the Indians and teach them in their labor, for each field a good practical farmer and an assistant; make him responsible for the public property, implements, stock, &c., for working the farm, and that the land is properly cultivated; erect on each field a house for the farmer and assistant to live in, and sheds and corrals for the stock and implements; settle the Indians who desire to work on the government farm on the outskirts of these fields, alloting to each family a little land for gardens and a permanent home. There should be employed eight or ten men who are acquainted with the principles of irrigation, and who have had experience in making acequias. The whole should be under the control of a good practical farmer.

The Apache Indians, numbering three hundred and thirty-five, (335), who were located on the Bosque Redondo reservation, all deserted on the 3rd of November, 1865, except nine, who are still on the reservation. The land they occupied has been consigned to the Navajos to live upon and cultivate. They planted it in corn, pumpkins, melons, &c., and their crops looked promising. But unfortunately during this month, (August) heavy rains fell, causing the Pecos river to overflow a large portion of their fields, damaging their corn crop considerably, and washed away many of their huts, implements, &c, and destroying their pumpkins, melons, &c. The waters rose so suddenly that four children and one woman were drowned.

I would recommend that the Navajos be furnished with at least twelve thousand (12,000) head of sheep. That the ewes be purchased in New Mexico, and the bucks in the States, in order to improve the stock. Sheep can be purchased in New Mexico for

from three to four dollars per head. Twelve thousand head of sheep would furnish them sufficient wool for their blankets, which they can manufacture themselves.

In consequence of high water, I have not been able to ascertain the exact number of animals among the Navajos on the reservation, but it is estimated as follows:

Horses	*1,050*
Mules	*50*
Sheep	*1,100*
Goats	*450*

The amount of produce raised on the Navajo and Apache farms during the year 1865, according to the books of the commissary departments at Fort Sumner, is as follows, viz:

Pounds of corn	*423,582*
Pounds of Wheat	*34,113*
Pounds of pumpkins	*38,403*
Pounds of beans	*3,515*

The cost of subsisting the Navajos, according to the commissary's books, is as follows, which amount does not include the pay of employes, but the actual cost of subsistence stores delivered at the post of Fort Sumner:

From January 11, 1865 to December 3, 1865	*$748,307.87*
From January 1, 1866 to July 31, 1866	*407,669.04*

On July 31, 1865, there were on the reservation, of all ages and sexes, 8,491, Navajos. There are now on the reservation, of all ages and sexes, 6,915, showing a decrease during the year of 1,576. The only manner that I can account for this large decrease is by deaths and desertions.

The following letters, primarily from 1864 and written by James H. Carleton, Commanding Headquarters Department of New Mexico, show the shift in emphasis from gold to food.[1] By 1864 Carleton's experiment to transform the Navajo from a pastoral to an agricultural village living tribe was in full swing. The constant recurring problem in 1864 was one of obtaining adequate food to feed those Navajo prisoners. Crops planted by the Navajos failed to supply the needed level of food: various blights, droughts, frost and insect infestations prevented Navajo crops from ever approaching their potential. Starvation was a real and ever-present fact of life at Fort Sumner. General Carleton was unhappy that the Indian Department refused to provide food so the entire responsibility fell to the military - who were the ones that placed them there in the first place.

No longer did Carleton concentrate letters on the subject of gold and precious metals but on the acute problem of finding enough food to feed the Navajo captives. In fact, as one of the letters reveals Carleton had to issue an order in October, 1864, advising that no more Navajos were to be sent to Fort Sumner because of lack of food.

Letter from Carleton dated March 6, 1864 to Brigadier General Lorenzo Thomas, Adjutant General, U.S.A., Washington, D.C.[2]

. . . I beg to impress upon your mind, General that the government should at once take some action for the immediate support and the prospective advancement of the Navajos although they have been forced by military power to leave their country, yet

1. See Chapter Eight on "Navajo Land" for a discussion of gold.
2. *Condition of Indian Tribes, op. cit.*, p. 163.

the government is so greatly the gainer by their giving it up, that an annuity of at least one hundred and fifty thousand dollars should be given to them in clothing, farming implements, stock, seeds, stockhouses, mills, etc., for ten years, when they will not only have become self-sustaining, but will be the happiest and most delightfully located pueblo of Indians in New Mexico - perhaps the United States . . .

Now, until laws be passed granting this annuity, somebody has got to feed and clothe these Indians. From what I have observed, the Indian department, as represented in this country, is slow to move in any matter looking toward the peaceful settlement of the Indians . . . It is a little hard that the Indian department does not stand ready to receive and provide for the captives, so that our attention and energies may be turned to other portions of the department . . .

These Indians are on my hands. They must be clothed and fed until they can clothe and feed themselves. I will not turn them loose again to war upon the people, and cannot see them perish either from nakedness or hunger.

James H Carleton, Brigadier General, Commanding Headquarters Department of New Mexico to Major Henry D. Wallen, Commanding at Fort Sumner, New Mexico, March 9, 1864.[1]

It will require the greatest effort and most careful husbandry to keep the Indian alive until the new crop matures. Every Indian - man, woman, or child - able to dig up the ground for planting, should be kept at work every moment of the day preparing a patch, however small . . . The very existence of the Indians will depend upon it, and they should understand that now; for the country cannot support that number of mouths in addition to what we want for the troops. Everything depends on your efforts, and on your making every moment of time of every hand you can muster tell . . . Indians must live on the smallest possible quantity of food.

Letter from Carleton dated March 10, 1864 to Colonel Edwin H. Rigy, Fort Craig, New Mexico.[2]

The cavalry at your post, and to come, must not be fed grain forage until I have time to see what all these human beings are to eat.

Letter from Carleton dated March 11, 1864 to Major Henry D. Wallen, Commanding Fort Sumner, New Mexico.[3]

I have heard that over five thousand of the Navajos have surrendered, and within a few days you will have over two thousand of this tribe; the other three thousand are about leaving Fort Conby.

The question about sufficient food for them to support life, is one about which as you may will suppose, I am very anxious. In conversing with Colonel Carson, Governor Connelly, and Major McFerran on this point, I find it is their opinion that one pound of flour, or of meal, or of meat, per day to each man, woman, and child, if cooked as atole or porridge, or into soup, could be made to be enough . . .

Letter from Carleton dated March 12, 1864 to Brigadier General, Lorenzo Thomas, Adjutant General, U.S.A., Washington, D.C.[4]

Now, when they (The Navajos) have surrendered and are at our mercy, they must be taken care of - must be fed, clothed, and instructed. This admits neither of discussion nor delay. These six thousand mouths must eat, and these six thousand bodies must be

1. *Ibid:*, p. 164.
2. *Ibid:*
3. *Ibid:*, p. 165.
4. *Ibid:*, pp. 166-167.

clothed. When it is considered what a magnificient pastoral and mineral country they have surrendered to us - a country whose value can hardly be estimated - the mere pittance, in comparison, which must at once be given to support them, sinks into insignificance as a price for their natural heritage.

. . . I have put all the troops on half-rations, and, at most of the posts, ordered that no grain be issued to cavalry horses.

. . . You wish them (The Navajos) to become a people whom all can contemplate with pride and satisfaction . . . a people who, in return for having given you their country, have been remembered and carefully provided for by a powerful Christian nation like ourselves. But unless you make in the law, all the arrangements here contemplated, you will find this interesting and intelligent race of Indians will fast diminish in numbers, until, within a few years only, not one of those who boasted in the proud name of Navajo will be left to upbraid us for having taken their birth right, and then left them to perish.

With other tribes whose lands we have acquired, ever since the pilgrims stepped on shore at Plymouth, this has been done too often for pity's sake, if not moved by any other consideration let us, as a great nation, for once treat the Indian as he deserves to be treated. It is due to ourselves, as well as to them, that this be done . . .

The exodus of this whole people from the land of their fathers is not only an interesting but a touching sight. They have fought us gallantly for years on years; they have defended their mountains and their stupendous canons with a herosim which any people might be proud to emulate; but when, at length, they found it was their destiny, too, as it had been that of their children, tribe after tribe, away back toward the rising of the sun, to give way to the insatiable progress of our race, they threw down their arms, and, as brave men entitled to our admiration and respect, have come to us with confidence in our magnanimity and feeling that we are too powerful and too just a people to repay that confidence with meanness or neglect-feeling that for having sacrificed to us their beautiful country, their homes, the association of their lives, the scenes rendered classic in their traditions, we will not dole out to them a miser's pittance in return for what they know to be and what we know to be a princely realm...

Letter from Carleton dated March 19, 1864 to Brigadier General Lorenzo Thomas, Adjutant General, U.S.A., Washington, D.C.[1]

. . . The Navajo should never leave the Bosque (Fort Sumner), and never shall if I can prevent it.

Letter from Carleton dated March 20, 1864 to Major Henry D. Wallen, Commanding, Fort Sumner, New Mexico.[2]

. . . And you will be sure, as long as you have this responsibility, to let neither Labadie or Steck (Indian Agents of the Department of Interior), nor anybody else, come there (Fort Sumner) to breed mischief or make trouble. When the Indian department acts properly and feeds and clothes the Indians, we will let them do it their own way; when they throw the Indians on our hands . . . to feed, then they must not meddle with them until they get them back . . .

I should be down (to Fort Sumner) as soon as I see you all have enough to eat. 6,000 is no joke.

1. *Ibid:*, p. 169.
2. *Ibid:*, pp. 173-174.

Letter from Carleton dated April 24, 1864 to Brigadier General Lorenzo Thomas, Adjutant General, U.S.A.[1]

> *. . . The Adjutant General will see that one hundred and ninety-seven of these Indian prisoners of Captain Thompson's party, when he left Fort Conby, died en route. The weather was very inclement, with terrible gales of wind and heavy fall of snow, the Indians were nearly naked; and besides, many died from dysentery occasioned by eating too heartily of half-cooked bread, made from our flour, to which they were not accustomed.*

Letter from Carleton dated October 27, 1864 to Commanding Officer, Fort Wingate, New Mexico.[2]

> *I find that we have now as many Navajos and Apaches on the reservation* (Fort Sumner) *as we can feed during the winter, so that no more will be permitted to come in until further orders. If necessary you will have runners sent to inform the Navajos of this decision . . .*

Condition of Indian Tribes, 1867 [3]

Recapitulation

	Livestock Taken from Indian					*Livestock Taken by Indian*				
	Sheep	*Horses*	*Mules*	*Cattle*	*Burros*	*Sheep*	*Horses*	*Mules*	*Cattle*	*Burros*
1863	24,266	152	232	215	17	24,389	21	205	402	0
1864	12,284	2,472	35	31	18	4,250	26	154	32	0

Killed and Wounded

	Commanding Officers		*Enlisted Men*		*Citizens*		*Indians*		
	Killed	*Wounded*	*Killed*	*Wounded*	*Killed*	*Wounded*	*Killed*	*Wounded*	*Captured*
1863	3	4	14	21	16	4	301	87	703
1864	1	2	6	23	18	13	363	140	8,090

Carleton in his written testimony before the J. R. Doolittle Investigating Committee, July 3, 1865 stated: [4]

> *. . . I feel constrained to say that much of the hostility manifested by many of the people of New Mexico against the reservation system (Fort Sumner) grows out of the fact that when this system goes into successful operation there will be no more tribes from which they can capture servants, and the military force being reduced to a very small number-the millions of dollars annually expended here on account of the militar establishment will, in a great measure, cease . . .*

1. *Ibid:*, p. 179.
2. *Ibid:*, p. 203.
3. *Ibid:*, pp. 256-257 and p. 267.
4. *Ibid:*, p. 324.

U.S. Signal Corps - Photo # 111-SC-87976 in the National Archives. **"Indian warriors - Navajos near Fort Sumner, New Mexico."** Photographer and date unknown.

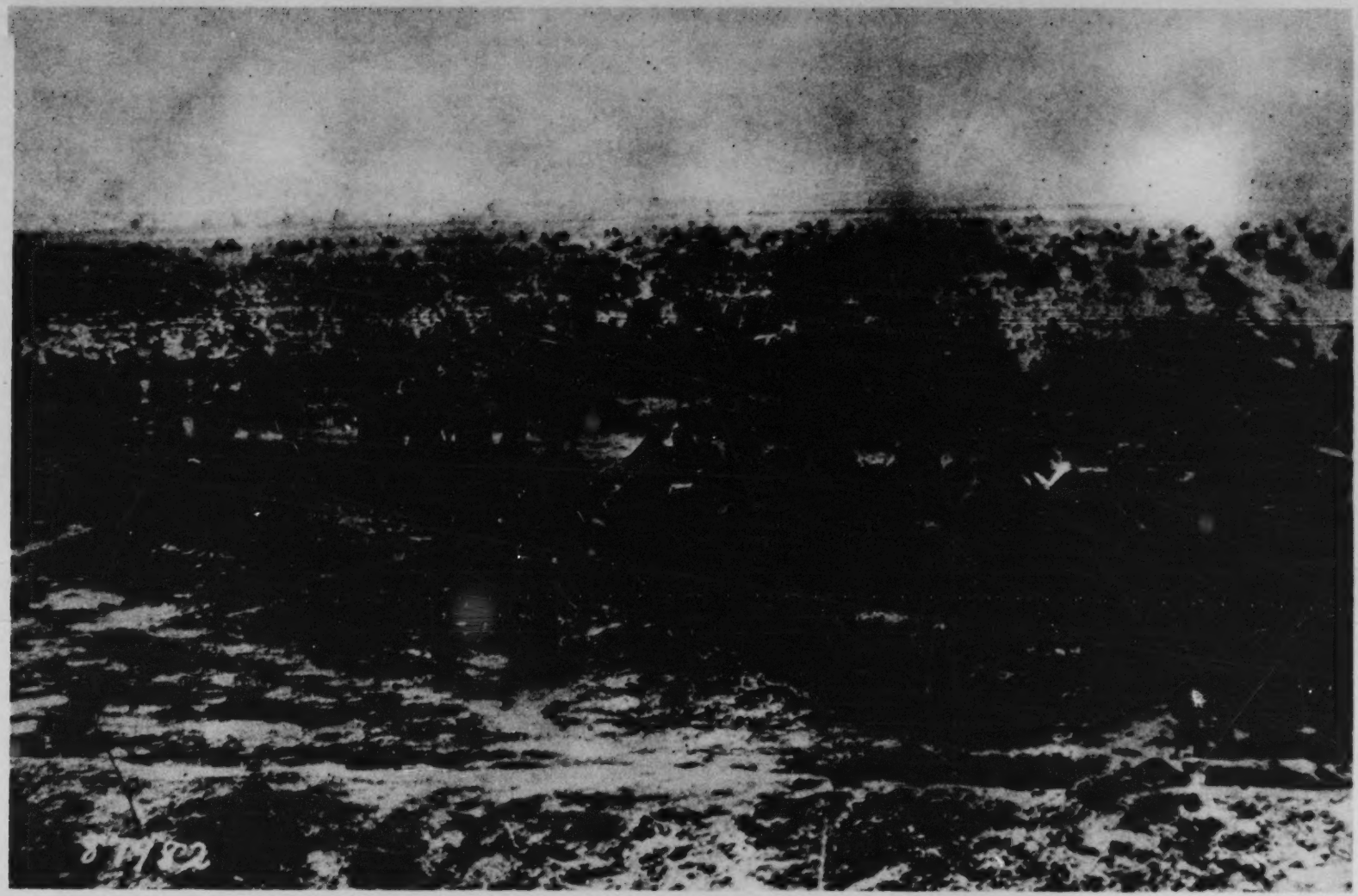
U.S. Signal Corps - photo # 111-SC-87983. **"Navajo Indians at Fort Sumner, New Mexico."** Photographer and date unknown.

U.S. Signal Corps - photo # 111-SC-88003 in the National Archives. **"Navajo Indian Chiefs accused of counterfeiting ration tickets."** Photographer and date unknown.

U.S. Signal Corps - photo # 111-SC-87981 in the National Archives. **"Navajo Indian husking [corn] party, Fort Sumner, New Mexico."** Photographer and date unknown.

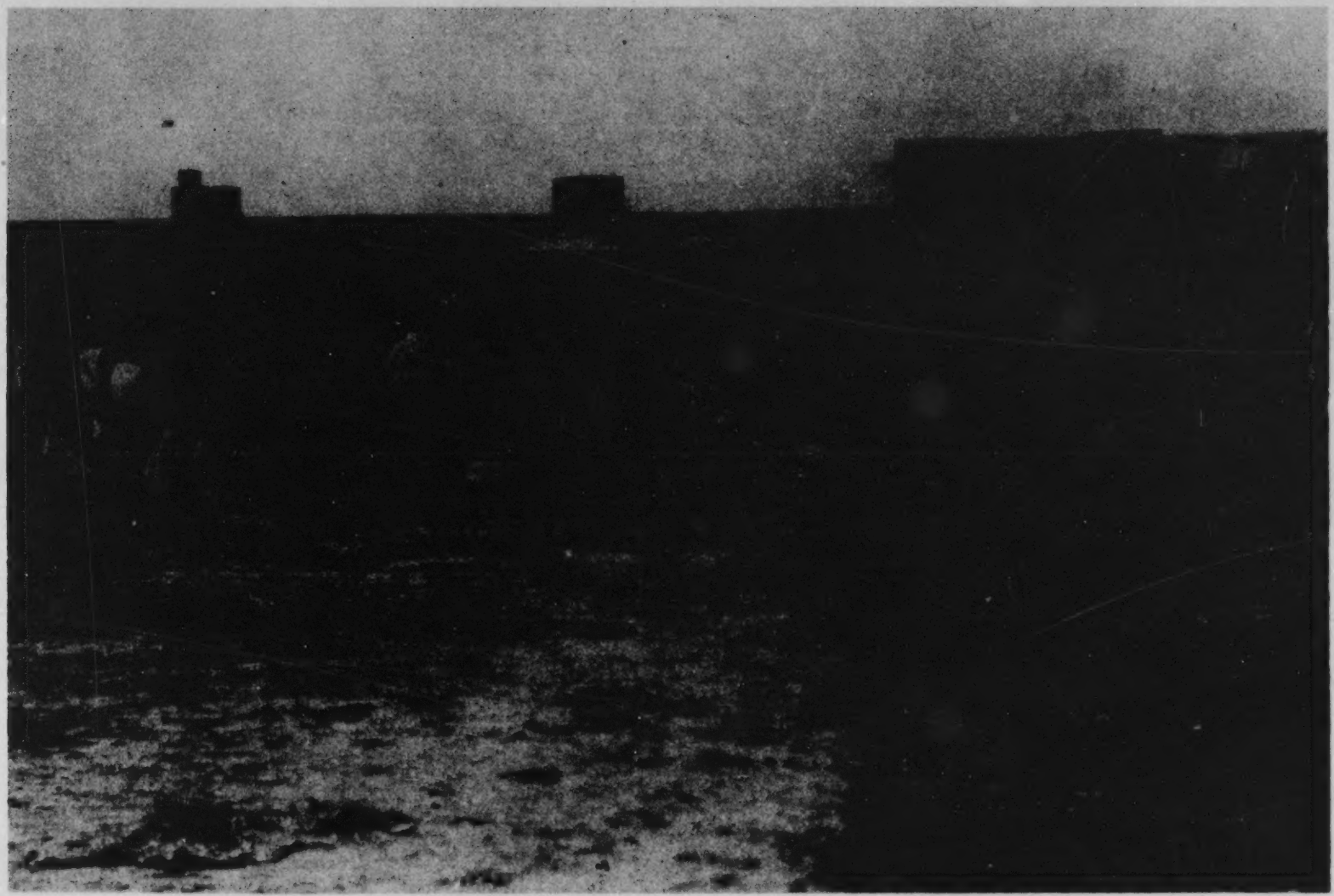
U.S. Signal Corps - photo # 111-SC-87979 in the National Archives. **"Navajo warriors near Fort Sumner, New Mexico."** Photographer and date unknown.

U.S. Signal Corps - photo # 111-SC-87980 in the National Archives. **"Navajo Indian corn fields, Fort Sumner, New Mexico.** Photographer and date unknown.



U.S. Signal Corps - photo # 111-SC-87982 in the National Archives. **"Corn husking party of Navajos, Fort Sumner, New Mexico.** Photographer and date unknown.

U.S. Signal Corps - photo # 111-SC-87978 in the National Archives. **"Indian Issue House and Navajos near Fort Sumner, New Mexico.** Photographer and date unknown.

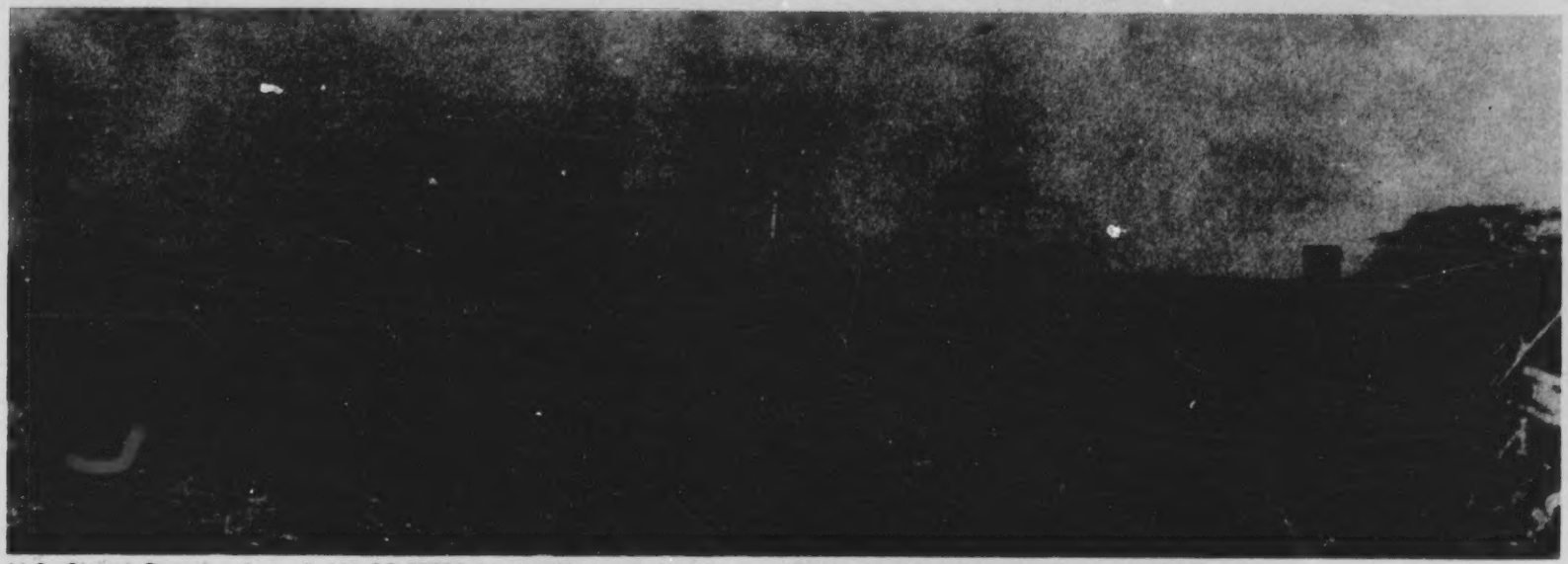


U.S. Signal Corps - photo # 111-SC-87977 in the National Archives. **"Indian Issue House. Navajos near Fort Sumner, New Mexico."** Photographer and date unknown.

U.S. Signal Corps - photo # 111-SC-87966 in the National Archives. **"Fort Sumner, New Mexico. Provost Marshal's office. Navajo Indians receiving ration tickets."** Photographer and date unknown.

U.S. Signal Corps - photo # 111-SC-88002 in the National Archives. **"A few miles from Fort Sumner, New Mexico.** Photographer and date unknown.

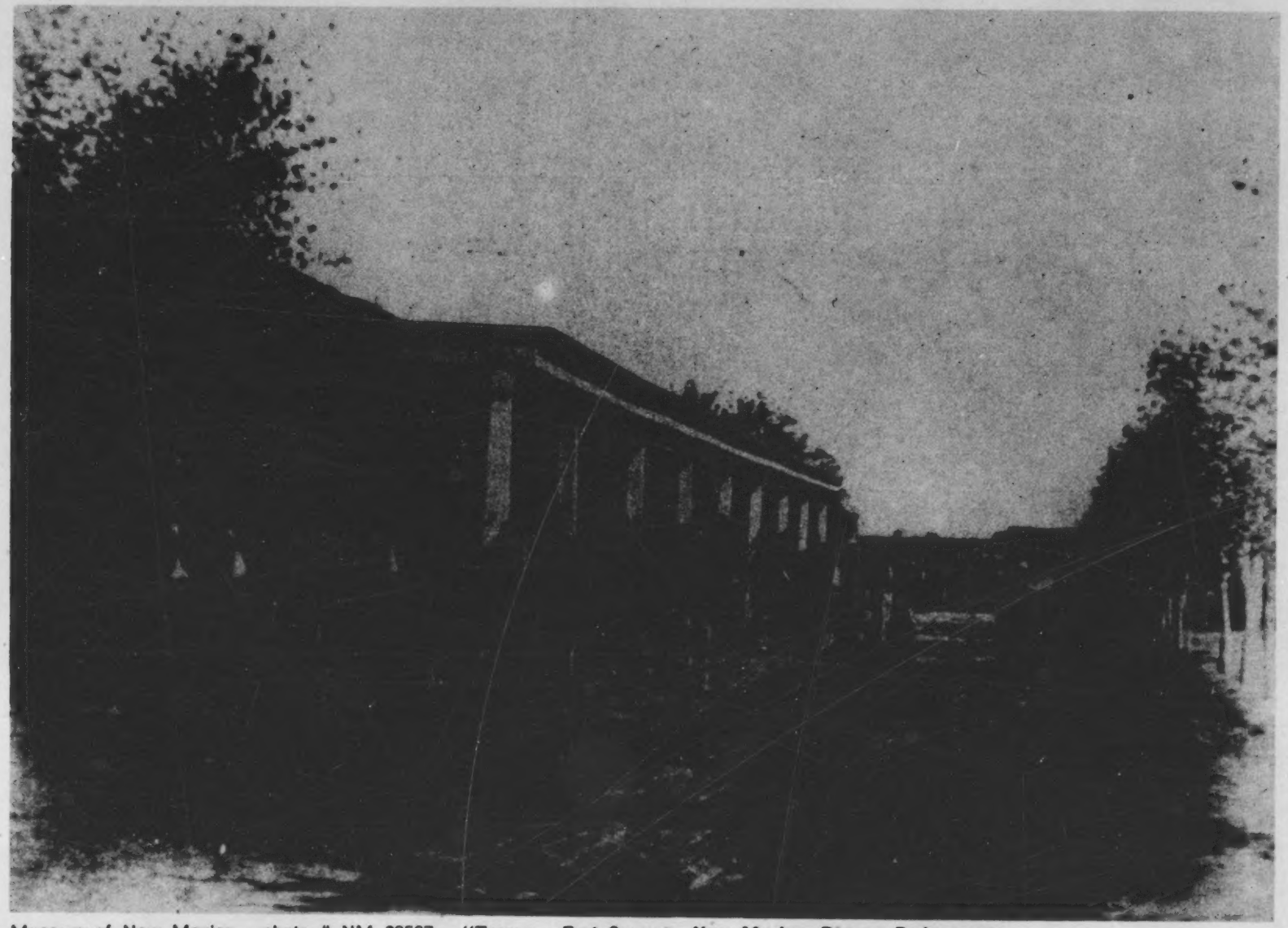
U.S. Signal Corps - photo # 111-SC-87972 in the National Archives. **"Fort Sumner, New Mexico. Company quarters, from old Sutler Store."** Photographer and date unknown.



U.S. Signal Corps - photo # 111-SC-87968 in the National Archives. **"Scene inside the large quarter master corral. Notice the lookout cupola."** Photographer and date unknown.

U.S. Signal Corps - photo # 111-SC-87970 in the National Archives. **"Fort Sumner, New Mexico - street view. Officer's quarters on the left."** Photographer and date unknown.

U.S. Signal Corps - photo # 111-SC-87985 in the National Archives. **"Fort Sumner."** Photographer and date unknown.



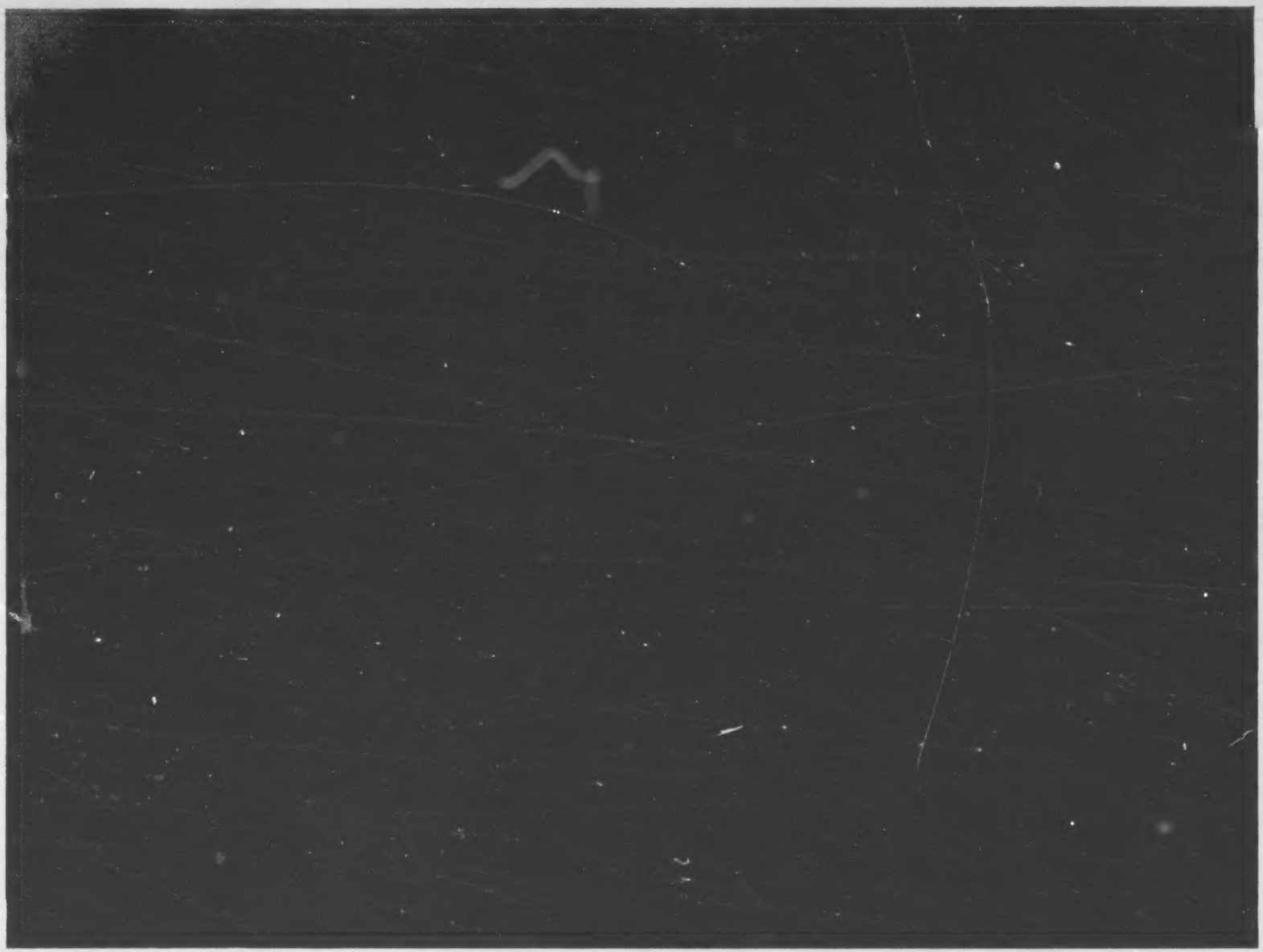
Museum of New Mexico - photo # NM 28537. **"Troops - Fort Sumner, New Mexico, Bosque Redona era 1864-68."** Photographer unknown.

U.S. Signal Corps - photo # 111-SC-87969 in the National Archives. **"Men, officers and tents of Company B, First New Mexico Infantry. Despite the size of the post, many companies lived in tents due to a shortage of permanent quarters."** Photographer and date unknown.

U.S. Signal Corps - photo # 111-SC-87973 in the National Archives. **"Fort Sumner, New Mexico Company quarters in course of erection."** Photographer and date unknown.

U.S. Signal Corps - photo # 111-SC-87984 in the National Archives. **"Navajo adobe yard - Fort Sumner, New Mexico."** Photographer and date unknown.

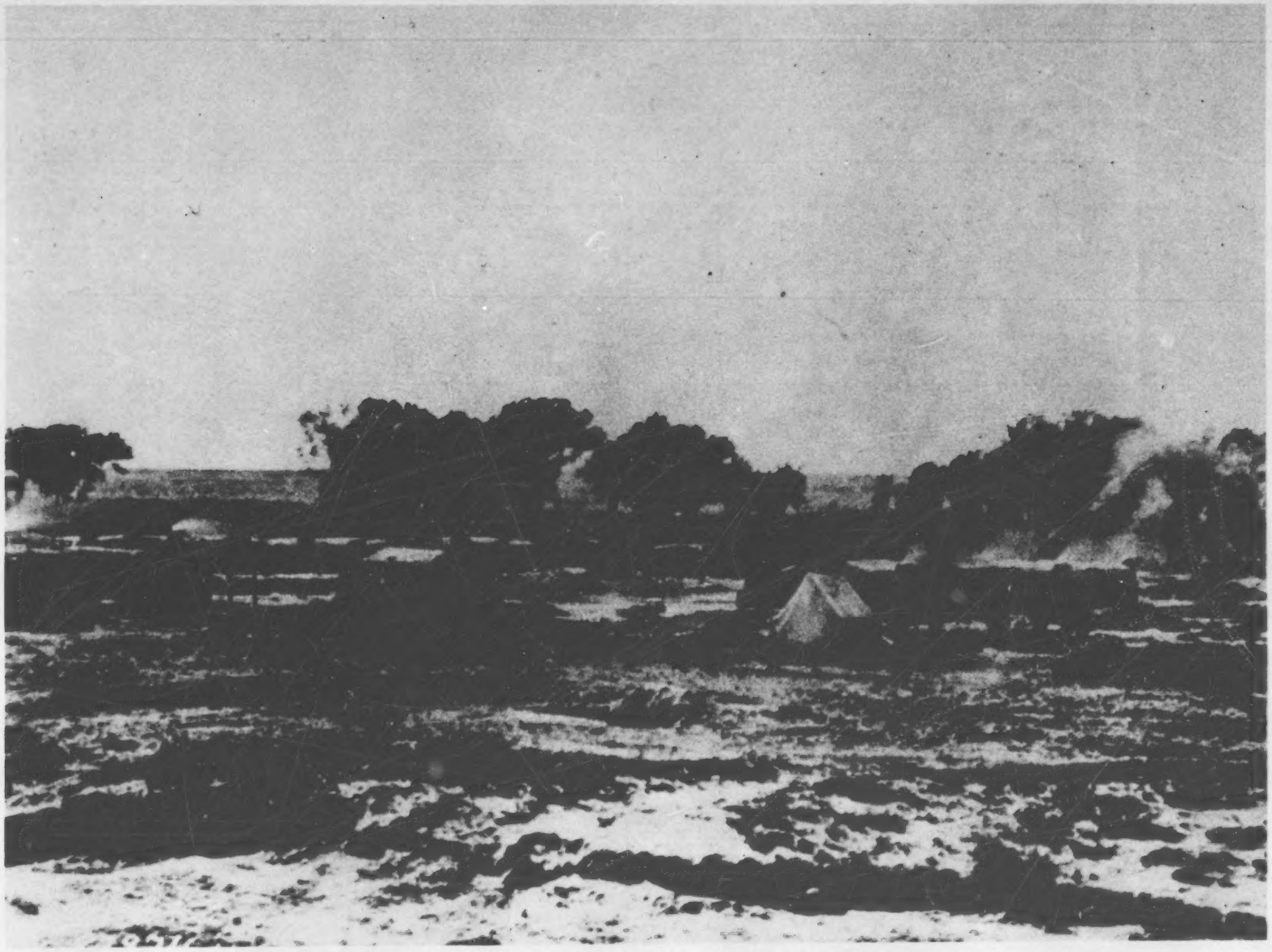
U.S. Signal Corps - photo # 111-SC-87967 in the National Archives. **"Fort Sumner, New Mexico. Enlisted men's barracks."** Photographer and date unknown.



Museum of New Mexico - photo # NM 1817. **"Troops and Indians - Fort Sumner, New Mexico. Bosque Redondo era 1864-68."** Photographer unknown.

Museum of New Mexico - photo # NM 28534. **"Counting Indians. Bosque Redondo era, Fort Sumner, New Mexico 1864-68."** Photographer unknown.

Museum of New Mexico - photo # NM 38191. **"Group of Navajo Indians. Bosque Redondo era, Fort Sumner, New Mexico 1864-68."** Photographer unknown.



Museum of New Mexico - photo # NM 28533. **"Fort Sumner, New Mexico - Bosque Redondo era 1864-68."**
U.S. Army Signal Corps photo. Photographer unknown.

Museum of New Mexico - photo # NM 38200. **"Navajo man, Bosque Redondo era - Fort Sumner, New Mexico 1864-68."** Photographer unknown.

Museum of New Mexico - photo # NM 38203. **"Navajo Thieves - Bosque Redondo era, Fort Sumner, New Mexico 1864-68."** Photographer unknown.

Museum of New Mexico - photo # NM 38197. **"Two Navajo girls - Bosque Redondo era - Fort Sumner, New Mexico 1864-68."** Photographer unknown.

80

Museum of New Mexico - photo # NM 38196. **"Navajo girl - Bosque Redondo era - Fort Sumner, New Mexico 1864-68."** Photographer unknown.

Museum of New Mexico - photo # NM 30332. **"Navajo men - Bosque Redondo era 1864-68."** Photographer unknown.

S2

Museum of New Mexico - photo # 38208. **"Navajo girls - Bosque Redondo era - Fort Sumner, New Mexico 1864-68."** Photographer unknown.

Museum of New Mexico - photo # NM 3242. **"Navajo woman and baby. Bosque Redondo era - Fort Sumner, New Mexico 1864-68."** Photographer unknown.

S4

Basic Common Elements Observable in Fort Sumner Photographs

A careful study of the photographs, taken sometime between 1863 and 1868, reveals certain common elements which appear to be typical for that period. At times the photos suggest something which cannot be verified with certainity, i.e. a silver bracelet and silver collar ornaments both worn by the same woman. There is no doubt but that she is wearing a bracelet and also has ornaments on her dress (photo number 111-SC-87981). What these objects were made of and by whom is a question that cannot be answered.

The following list includes some items which are observable with great frequency; while others are seen less often but are important to recognize nevertheless.

1. Striped Navajo blankets with more light than dark colors.
2. Mens' high top moccasins to just below the knees.
3. Mens' cotton blouses and slit cotton pants.
4. Womens' wrap around moccasins to just below the knee.
5. Womens' dark, sometime decorated with stripes or other figures, hand woven wool two piece dresses which usually go under the left shoulder of the wearer.
6. Bows and arrows with bows in the range of 4 to 5 1/2 feet.
7. Horses appear almost everywhere.
8. Necklaces (shell/turquoise) appear in a number of the photographs including "jac'loo" worn at the bottom of a string(s) of shell/turquoise necklaces.
9. Children are in most photographs and they wear striped blankets and other clothing like their parents.
10. Headbands and hats are worn by many men with only a few of the old type fur or other Navajo headresses visible.
11. A number of men wear the over the shoulder pouch worn like a bandolier.

Comments on Select

Fort Sumner Photographs

U.S. Signal Corps Photo Number 111-SC-87976 *Indian warriors, Navajo near Fort Sumner, New Mexico*

No sign of silver jewelry.
Eight bow and arrow sets visible in this picture.
Most people wearing blankets which have stripes - also several wearing dark solid color blankets which may have been Army issue.
Both hats, headbands and bare heads evident in the photograph, also at least one skin (fur) head piece visible.
Four shoulder pouches visible.
Two apparently bead necklaces visible.
Men seem to be wearing, where visible, cotton pants with slit up the side. Also wearing hightop moccasins (to below knees).
Horses often seem to have reins go directly to horses mouth - no head stall whatsoever - other horses have head stall (bridle) but usually nothing over nose of horse.
Seventeen blankets being worn which have stripes - apparently no other design - two solid dark color blankets being worn by men on horseback.

U.S. Signal Corps Photo Number 111-SC-87983 *Navajo Indians at Fort Sumner, New Mexico*

Many striped blankets are evident (at least 13 are visible). Same white man on white horse in left center of picture. Man (?) on horseback wearing necklace with "jac'loo."
Man to right of picture appears to be holding not only bow and arrow but also a gun. If true this is the only picture of a gun in the hands of a Navajo in any of the Fort Sumner photographs.

U.S. Signal Corps Photo Number 111-SC-88003 *Navajo Indian Chiefs accused of counterfeiting ration tickets*

Three necklaces made of shell and/or turquoise are seen in the picture. One of the necklaces is a "jac'loo."
Three men carrying bows and arrows are in the photograph.
Horse ridden by a Navajo holding a bow and arrow to right of picture has a decorated bridle.
Knee high moccasins are worn by all the men whose legs are visible.
At least one shoulder pouch (bandolier) visible.

U.S. Signal Corps Photo Number 111-SC-87981 *Navajo Indian husking (corn) party, Fort Sumner, New Mexico*

A group of men and women. Corn visible in front of picture on the ground. Navajo woman on the right front with striped blanket over her shoulders. She is wearing a bracelet and appears to have collar ornaments on her dress. Once again, many striped blankets are visible. More women appear in this photograph. Soldiers also are present.

U.S. Signal Corps Photo Number 111-SC-87979 *Navajo warriors near Fort Sumner, New Mexico*

At least seven men are wearing dark solid color blankets which may have been Army Issue. Same white man on white horse as in picture 87976 and 88003.

U.S. Signal Corps Photo Number 111-SC-87980 *Navajo Indian corn fields. Fort Sumner. New Mexico*

Once again many Navajos are mounted on horseback - many are wearing striped blankets.

One man on horseback in right center of the photograph is wearing a necklace (shell/turquoise?).

Corn appears to be shucked in stacks at the rear of the photograph.

At least one man is wearing a shoulder pouch - usually worn over the right shoulder.

Several white men visible in photograph.

U.S. Signal Corps Photo Number 111-SC-87982 *Corn husking party of Navajos. Fort Sumner. New Mexico*

Taken from the same spot as 87980.

A white man on horseback appears to left of the photograph with several others standing toward the center of the picture.

Many striped Navajo blankets evident, also men's cotton blouse and pants, and women's woven wool dresses evident.

U.S. Signal Corps Photo Number 111-SC-87978 *Indian Issue House and Navajos near Fort Sumner. New Mexico*

Officer on horseback in middle of the picture is reputed to be Major McCleave post commander.

It shows Navajo woman wearing ankle length hand-woven two piece dress standing with package on her back - right center.

U.S. Signal Corps Photo Number 111-SC-87977 *Indian Issue House. Navajos near Fort Sumner. New Mexico*

One Navajo man and one Navajo woman are wearing necklaces (shell/turquoise).

Again a number of striped blankets with some blankets which appear light (white) with no decorations. Some of the striped blankets are worn vertically while others are horizontal.

U.S. Signal Corps Photo Number 111-SC-87966 *Fort Sumner, New Mexico. Provost Marshal's office. Navajo Indians receiving ration tickets.*

Navajo man standing to left of door appears to be holding a rake or some type of farming implement. Several men are wearing fur type hats. Navajo women to left of picture standing by a soldier appears to be wearing a necklace (shell/turquoise).

U.S. Signal Corps Photo Number 111-SC-88002 *A few miles from Fort Sumner, New Mexico*

To the right of the picture there are a group of Navajo women standing who are wearing the hand woven wool two piece dress with wrap around moccasins.

White men (civilians?) are standing and sitting on the roof of the building. This probably was the location of the offices for the civilian Indian agent and other Indian department personnel.

U.S. Signal Corps Photo Number 111-SC-87985 *Fort Sumner*

This view is from the infantry quarters looking eastward. Two company sinks are located in the foreground behind an irrigation ditch. To the left rear is the Indian commissary with storerooms.

To the right rear is the Quartermaster and Cavalry stables. Wood is stacked up in the center rear of the picture.

U.S. Signal Corps Photo Number 111-SC-87973 *Fort Sumner, New Mexico Company quarters in course of erection*

Navajos working on the construction of a new adobe building. Soldiers (?) (white men out of uniform) appear to be assisting and supervising. There are two guards in front of the construction and a single soldier on guard at the rear.

U.S. Signal Corps Photo Number 111-SC-87984 *Navajo adobe yard. Fort Sumner, New Mexico*

In the foreground are rows of adobe bricks. In the background, a group of unmounted Navajo appear to be working making adobe bricks.

Museum of New Mexico Photo Number NM-1817 *Troops and Indians - Fort Sumner, New Mexico, Bosque Redondo era 1864-68*

Some in uniform on the left and some Navajos wearing striped blankets.

Museum of New Mexico Photo Number NM-38191 *Group of Navajo Indians. Bosque Redondo era, Fort Sumner, New Mexico 1864-68*

The photo reveals stark and harsh conditons in which Navajo lived - Navajo camp merely brush shelters.

The man at left wearing necklace.

Museum of New Mexico Photo Number 38200 *Navajo man, Bosque Redondo era - Fort Sumner, New Mexico 1864-68*

The man wearing felt (?) hat with horns (?) - holding a bow with mountain lion skin quiver on his lap and has striped Navajo blanket over his knees.

He is also wearing a cotton shirt - appears to be wearing leather bow guard on the left wrist.

Museum of New Mexico Photo Number NM-38203 *Navajo Thieves - Bosque Redondo era, Fort Sumner, New Mexico 1864-68*

Navajo striped blankets are worn by both men.

Hand woven Navajo wool socks visible.

Interesting photograph and caption.

Musum of New Mexico Photo Number NM-38197 *Two Navajo girls - Bosque Redondo era - Fort Sumner, New Mexico 1864-68*

Both girls wearing Navajo dark, woven, woolen, two piece dress which have striped decorations.

Both girls wearing necklaces of some type - numberous strands are visible.

Wrap around moccasins also visible.

Museum of New Mexico Photo Number NM-38196 *Navajo girl - Bosque Redondo era - Fort Sumner, New Mexico, 1864-68*

Typical Navajo dress for women.

The girl wearing bracelets on both arms and many strands of shell/turquoise necklaces.

Wrap around moccasin with two piece wool hand woven dress with striped design.

Another Navajo blanket tied over her shoulder.

Museum of New Mexico Photo Number NM-30332 *Navajo men - Bosque Redondo era, 1864-68*

Five men, three wearing Navajo blankets, one wears many strands of shell/turquoise necklace with "jac'loo." The man on the left appears to have but one eye.

Museum of New Mexico Photo Number NM38208 *Navajo girls - Bosque Redondo era - Fort Sumner, New Mexico 1864-68*

Two girls wearing two piece hand woven wool dress - striped designs very visible.
Also wearing "jac'loo" earrings.
Bell fastened to blanket of girl on the left.
Both wearing string of silver (?) beads.

Museum of New Mexico Photo Number NM 3242 *Navajo woman and baby. Bosque Redondo era - Fort Sumner, New Mexico 1864-68*

Excellent detail of Navajo cradle board showing three pieces of wood used to form bow.
Baby and mother both wearing striped Navajo blanket - good detail showing coarseness in Mother's blanket - has bracelet on left wrist.

CHAPTER TWO

FORT DEFIANCE - ISSUE OF RATIONS

DISCUSSION

Once the Navajos were allowed to return to their beloved homeland, the government issued goods and supplies promised and provided by the Treaty. The Navajos for hundreds of miles surrounding Fort Defiance came there on the days that rations were issued. Following their return from Fort Sumner, the Navajos found very little left. Their homes had been burned and of course, their farms had long been idle and grown over with weeds and brush while their large flocks of sheep, goats, cattle, and horses, which characterized the Navajo prior to Fort Sumner, were all gone.

In an effort to assist the Navajo to get back on their feet, the United States provided two sheep per adult and issued rations.

The photographs included in this book reflect the poverty and yet pride of the Navajo People.

Examining the reports submitted by the Indian agents assigned to the Navajo Agency during the period of the 1880's one senses a Navajo Watergate: a situation wherein the Navajo were being short-changed in terms of food and rations while far smaller and more warlike tribes were receiving forty and more times as much. Some of the agents used strong language to express their shock and dismay over the treatment of the Navajo but evidently to no avail.

Fortunately, many of these Annual Reports contain information on the Indian Service contracts awarded by Agency and cost with respect to food purchased for the various Indian tribes. A study and analysis of the data contained in these reports clearly demonstrate the fact that the Navajo people received far far far less per capita in terms of cost of food provided by the government for reservation Indians than did neighboring and warlike tribes. In fact, John Bowman, Indian agent for the Navajo agency in 1884 declared the other tribes tried to get the Navajos to follow their lead in attacking white settlers since the Navajo would get far better attention and treatment from the government if they did so. (Mr. Bowman's quotation is found later in this chapter.)

TABLE A

Per Capita Value of Food Stuff[1]
Received By Select Indian Tribes from the U.S. 1880

NAME OF TRIBE	PER CAPITA VALUE	
Navajo Agency	.39¢	
Southern Ute Agency	$15.58	40 times greater than the Navajo
Mescalero Apache Agency	$26.82	69 times greater than the Navajo
San Carlos Apache Agency	$34.61	89 times greater than the Navajo

In order to provide a clearer understanding of the situation the following data is presented which shows for a single year the quantity, kind, and cost of the food supplies purchased for each of the above listed Indian Agencies. The year 1882 was arbitrarily selected and every separate contract awarded was included in each Tribes "summary." It should be pointed out that the supplies ordered vary from Agency to Agency so one Tribe may receive some items another Tribe didn't.

TABLE B

Food Supplies Purchased for the Navajo, Southern Ute,
Mescalero Apache and San Carlos Apache by Amount and Cost for 1882.[2]

NAVAJO - Population 16,000 - Per Capita Expenditure .11¢

Food Item	Quantity In Pounds	Cost Per 100 Pounds	Total Cost
Bacon	2,500	$18.45	$ 461.25
Beans	850	8.75	74.38
Flour	18,000	6.19	1,114.20
Hominy	850	9.00	76.50
Salt	1,300	7.50	97.50
		TOTAL	$1,823.83

1. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1880,* Washington, 1880, pp. 283-301.
2. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year, 1881,* Washington, 1881, pp. 337-355.
Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1882, Washington 1882, pp: 371-393:
Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1883, Washington, 1883, pp: 319-343:
Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1884, Washington, 1884, pp: 352-373:

SOUTHERN UTE - Population 925 - Per Capita Expenditure $25.28

Food Items	Quantity In Pounds	Cost Per 100 Pounds		Total Cost
Beef	400,000	$3.87		$15,480.00
Corn	25,000	3.15		787.50
Four	115,000	5.35		6,152.50
Oats	20,000	3.92		784.00
Salt	4,600	3.96		182.16
			TOTAL	$23,386.16

MESCALERO APACHE - Population 1,617 - Per Capita Expenditure $42.07

Food Items	Quantity In Pounds	Cost Per 100 Pounds		Total Cost
Bacon	2,000	$18.00		$ 360.00
Beef	500,000	3.43		17,150.00
Beans	4,300	8.45		363.35
Corn	15,000	2.95		442.50
Flour	900,000	5.45		49,050.00
Hominy	2,200	8.75		192.50
Oats	5,000	5.24		262.00
Salt	4,000	5.24		209.60
			TOTAL	$68,029.95

SAN CARLOS APACHE - Population 4,133 - Per Capita Expenditure $40.00

Food Item	Quantity In Pounds	Cost Per 100 Pounds		Total Cost
Barley	66,000	$3.75		$ 2,475.00
Beef	3,000,000	3.66		109,800.00
Beans	35,000	7.75		2,712.50
Four	900,000	5.45		49,050.00
Salt	30,120	4.24		1,277.09
			TOTAL	$165,314.59

The following excerpts from the various annual reports of Indian agents indicate the constant problem facing the Navajo in regard to the issue of rations by the U.S. Government. Following the logic that it was easier to feed an Indian than to fight him, the government developed the policy of feeding the various tribes - even and often beyond the time limit provided in the treaty.

It is interesting to note that the attitude of the Navajo Agents during the early 1880's with regard to the totally inadequate amount of subsistence the Navajo People received when compared with more warlike tribes. Certainly, these men laid their jobs on the line in an unsuccessful effort to obtain justice for the Navajo. The following quotations clearly support the figures provided earlier in this section that showed the needs of the Navajo being totally disregarded by the government.

Report of Indian Agent, Navajo Agency, Galen Eastman, August 20, 1881.[1]

> *I issued annuity goods to 11,400 Indians in October, 1879, being their last issue under their ten years' treaty stipulation, and in any estimate then of those who were*

1. *Report, 1881, op. cit.*, pp. 137-138.

left behind to care for their flocks and such Navajos as never come here, who reside westwardly from 150 to 300 miles from this agency, I placed the total as approximately 15,000 souls, but now believe there are more than 16,000 of them.

. . . I cannot keep silent, when comparing these (Navajo) meager allowance with their Ute and Apache neighbors on the north and south of them, viz, the Los Pinos and Southern Utes, and the Mascalero and San Carlos Apaches. These four agencies of restless undeserving Indians receive from twenty to fifty-nine times more subsistence from government than my Indians do, and the Navajos exceed in population by several thousands the combined numbers of said Utes and Apaches (the four agencies referred to), each occupying the same character of country . . .

I shall hope to obtain a more reasonable appropriation for this people for the next fiscal year . . . Mr.Commissioner, I shall expect your hearty co-operation with me in this endeavor to do justice to these Indians.

The 1882 Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs from Navajo Agent, Galen Eastman.[1]

And why should Congress give these sixteen thousand (say seventeen thousand now, for they are increasing) deserving Indians but $5,000 appropriation for this fiscal year, including pay of farmer, leaving but about twenty-five cents per capita with which to purchase tools and agricultural implements, to enable them to learn white men's improved ways, whereby they maybe able to cope with them for a subsistence, and at the same session our Congress appropriates $275,000 for the 4,578 restless and undeserving San Carlos Apaches . . . or two hundred and forty times as much as is received by the Navajos, signally reversing the encouragement given the whole human race by the Great Teacher in the parable of the talents, thus discouraging the best endeavors, and rewarding the wicked conduct of these wards of government. But in the face of these shameful facts, these Indians, Navajos still listen to their agent, when I tell them they must now behave better than ever before, for evidentally the plotters and the large majority of the whites and Mexicans residing in the Territories, New Mexico and Arizona desire their 6,000,000 acres of reserved lands, and would be glad to have them give cause sufficient to oust them therefrom.

Frank McNitt in his book, *The Indian Traders* presents a totally negative, and the author believes, an unfair picture of Galen Eastman pointing out the strong opposition of Thomas Keams and the Navajo people.[2]

McNitt stated:

Eastman was too lax or incompetent to control . . . by early spring in 1880, military officers were frankly alarmed by the situation. Eastman's ineptitude, the contempt in which he was held by the Indians, cried for a change.[3]

McNitt says nothing about the strong reports supporting better treatment of the Navajo, Eastman wrote requesting more appropriations for the Navajo. His explanation was:

The tribe's grievance was due partly to the fact that annuity goods, guaranteed for ten years by the 1868 treaty, automatically were cut off after 1879. Since then, the Navajos felt, Eastman had made no effort to secure needed help for them . . .[4]

Navajo Agents, Riordan and Bowman, again state in the strongest possible terms the government's failure to meet the needs of the Navajo.

1. *Report, 1882, op. cit.*, p. 128.
2. Frank McNitt, *The Indian Traders*, The University of Oklahoma Press, 1962, pp. 166-181.
3. *Ibid.* p. 166.
4. *Ibid.* p. 174.

Report of Indian Agent, D.M. Riordan, Navajo Agency, Fort Defiance, Arizona, August 14, 1883.[1]

Seventeen thousand Indians (Navajos) manage to extract their living (in addition to the mutton which forms the staple article of food) from these spots, and that, too, without any Government aid. If they were not the best Indians on the continent they would not do it. The United States has never fulfilled its promises made to them by treaty. It is safe to assume that it never will. As I have resigned and am about to leave here, and will probably be relieved before this report is read, I may be pardoned for resuming my rights and privileges as a citizen and speaking plainly of the gross wrongs perpetrated by the Government on the Navajos and on the Navajo Agency. Whether that treatment is due to ignorance, malice, or neglect it is time something was done to remedy existing evils . . .

How any man could turn a deaf ear to the sufferings I witnessed here last winter - to the cries of hungry women and children whose only support had perished, owing to the severity of the winter, and who were thus deprived of all means of livelihood - puzzles me. But that impersonal myth, the Government, neither sees nor hears these things; and if any of its officers has humanity enough in him to heed them, he pays the expense. . .

When I came here, there was not an ounce of hay or grain at this agency; there was not an ounce of provisions of any kind for issue . . . There was not a house that would keep out the snow or the rain . . . Through all the weary years since this agency was located here those who did this work before me have begged, pleaded, implored for a place to live in, but all to no purpose. Why don't the Government give an agent here as good a shelter as it gives a mule at Fort Wingate?

I was told repeatedly by influencial and well-meaning friends, verbally and by letter, to 'hold on,' 'be patient,' 'we can't do it all in a month,' 'just wait til Congress meets,' etc. . . . 'wait til Congress meets.' Wait until an indifferent Congress gets good and ready, and if this one doesn't wait for the next. But don't forget to wait. The same old song for the Indian, too.

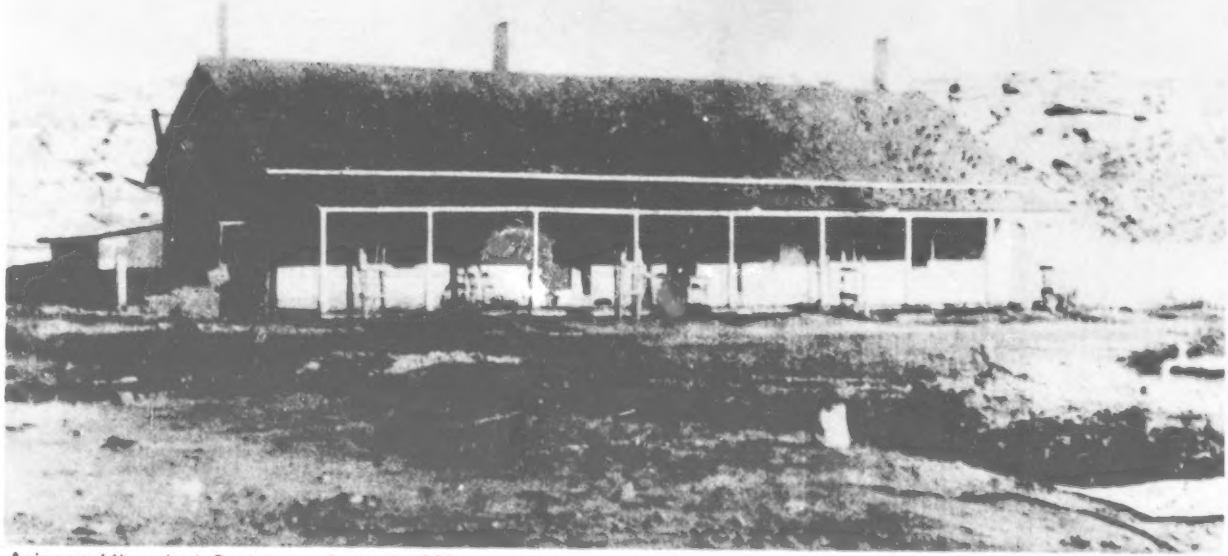
Report by Indian Agent, John H. Bowman, Navajo Agency, September 3, 1884.[2]

If the Navajos were not the best natured Indians on the continent, they would cause lots of trouble, for they are continually told by their Ute neighbors on the north, as well as by the Apaches on the south, that the only way to get any help from the United States is to go on the war path and then be hired to quit. Mr. Apache says, 'look at me; I did all the injury that I could, for years, to the whites; see now how they reward me for promising not to do so anymore.' The Ute Says, 'We killed our agent and one belonging to the Navajos, we have kept the good people of Colorado, as well as others, in dread for years. Come over and see them pay us, our wives and babies, a good many dollars in cash each year, just because they are afraid of us. Go and kill a few women and children; then you will be noticed and remembered; Uncle Sam has forgotten you!' It is hard for a poor Indian who has never seen most of this world to understand why the distinction is made, and I am frank to confess that it puzzles me to know why it is so. The Treaty stipulations, conditions, reservations, and all other things are exactly similar, only that the Navajos are industrious and peaceable, and the others are not.

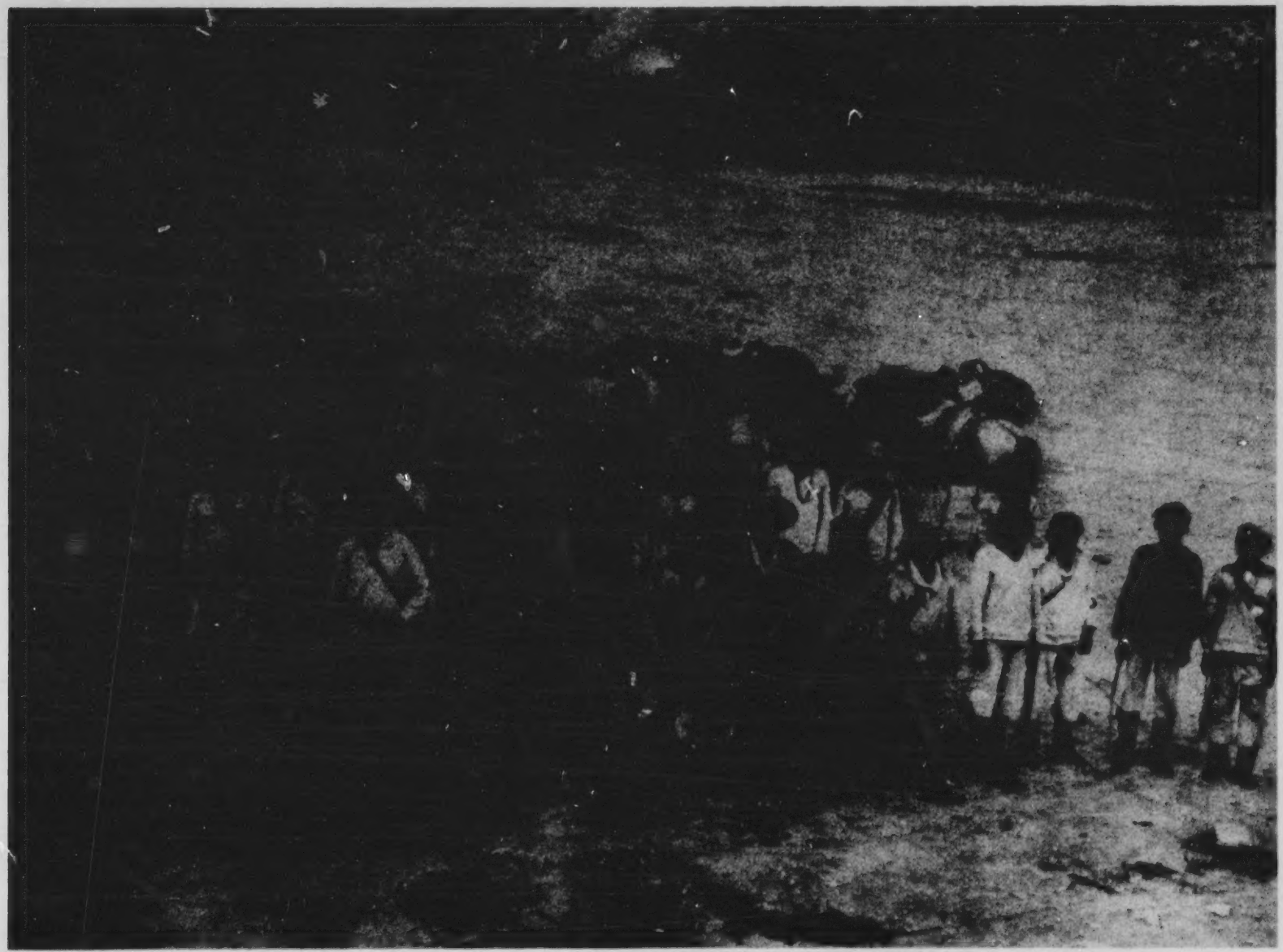
1. *Report, 1883, op. cit.*, pp. 119-120.
2. *Report, 1884, op. cit.* p. 134.

Fort Defiance Photographs

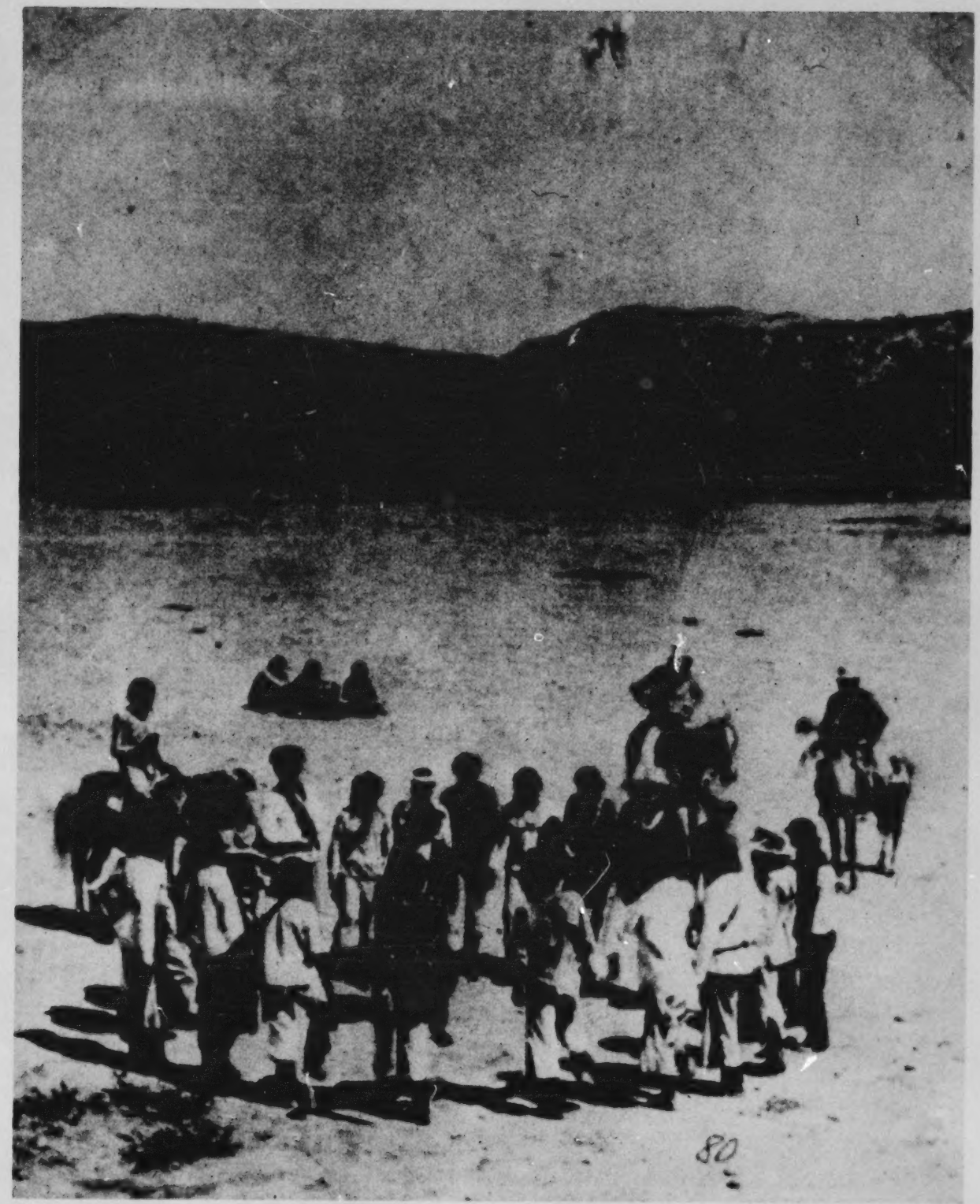
Arizona Historical Society - photo # 61,569. **"Fort Defiance - 1860."** Photographer unknown.



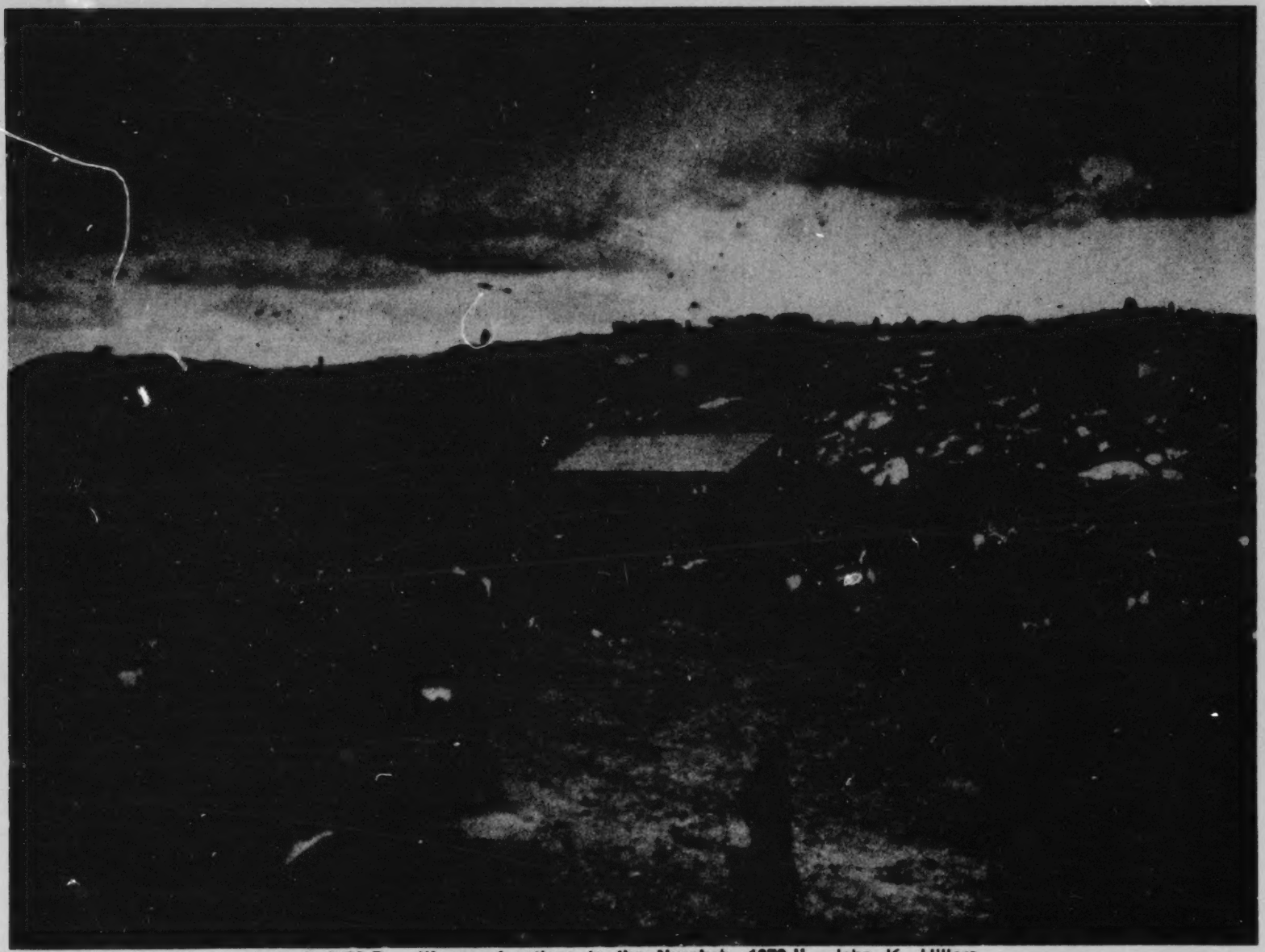
Arizona Historical Society - photo # 1201. **"Agent's quarters - Fort Defiance."** ca. 1870's. Photographer unknown.



Smithsonian Institution - photo # 54633. **"Group of Navaho with Governor F.M. Arny, Navaho agent at Fort Defiance, Arizona."** ca. 1874-75. Photographer unknown.



Chief of Engineers - photo # 77-WE-26 in the National Archives. **"Navajoe Indian Dance at old Fort Defiance."** ca. 1874-75. War Department photo. T. H. O'Sullivan photographer.



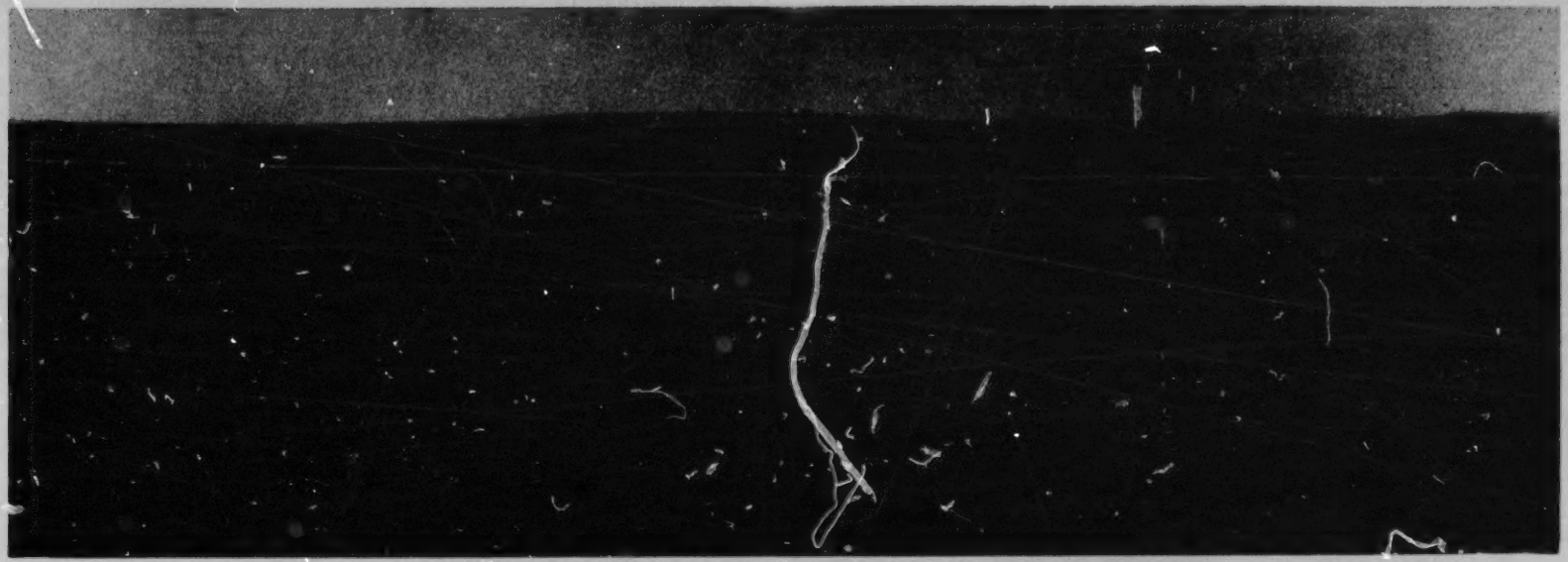
Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2459-D. "Issue of rations to the Navahos, 1879." John K. Hillers, photographer, 1879.

Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2459-A. **"Issue of rations - Navajo."** John K. Hillers, photographer, 1879.

Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2459-C. "Issue of rations to the Navahos, 1879." John K. Hillers, photographer - 1879.

U.S. Signal Corps - photo # 111-SC-89620 in the National Archives. "Navajo Group - Issue Day. Arizona Territory." Photographer and date unknown.

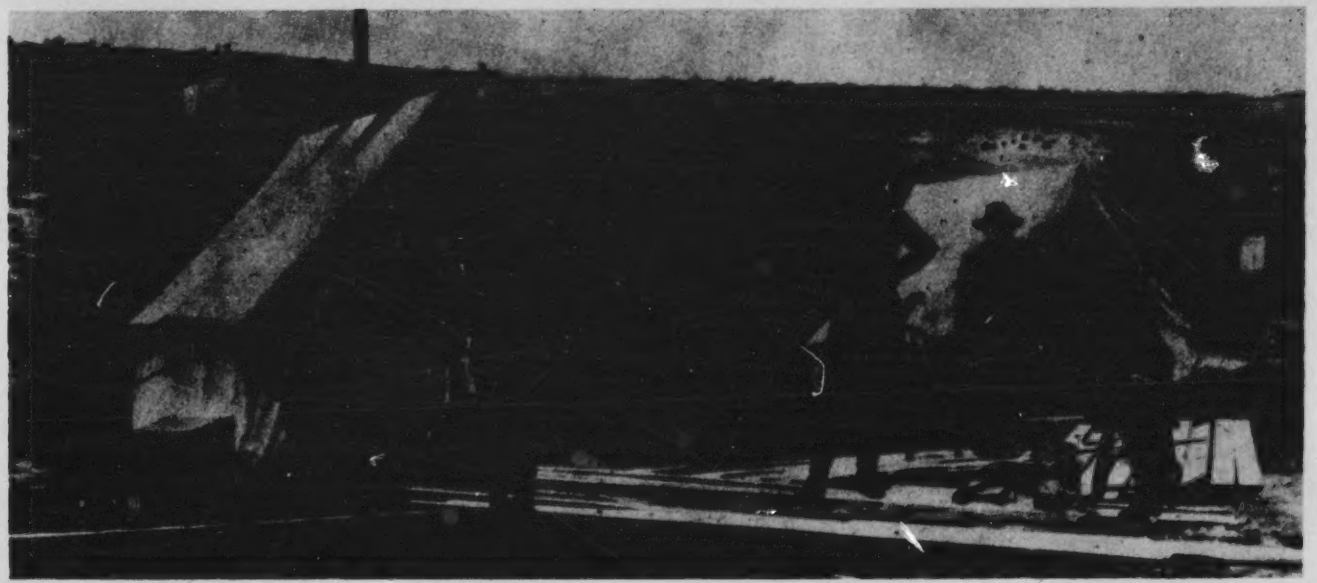
Arizona Historical Society - photo # 1263. "Ox freight team hauling supplies to Fort Defiance, Arizona Territory." Photographer and date unknown.



Arizona Historical Society - photo # 48,562. **"Fort Defiance."** Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff photo. Photographer and date unknown.

Arizona Historical Society - photo # 16147. **"Base camp #1 - Fort Defiance, Arizona."** Photographer and date unknown.

Arizona Historical Society - photo # 48,629. **"Fort Defiance - Soldiers in camp."** Photographer and date unknown.



Arizona Historical Society - photo # 48,627. **"Officer's quarters, Fort Defiance."** 1905. Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff photo. Photographer unknown.

Comments on Select

Fort Defiance Photographs

Smithsonian Institution Photo Number SM-54633 *Governor Army with Navajos - 1874*

Photograph has also been identified as "Arny with his Navajo Indian Police at Fort Defiance in 1873, Manuelito, the chief, is in the center of the front row with a dark shirt and a hat."[1]

Cotton blouses and pants for men (mostly breech cloths with cotton pants).

Twenty-three Navajo men standing with Governor Arny to the left.

Bandoleir (over the shoulder pouch) worn over both the right and left shoulders.

Headbands and some hats - six hats, sixteen headbands and one with no hat or headband.

High top moccasins worn by old men.

Out of twenty-three men visible, eight worn shell necklaces (one jac'loo).

Silver ornament appears on the leather, over the shoulder strap on the man at extreme right of the picture.

Four bracelets are visible (two on one man).

Three rings are visible.

One set of circle silver wire earrings.

All men visible are wearing high top moccasins.

Every man visible holds a quirt.

Smithsonian Institution Photo Number 2459D *Issue of Rations 1879 - Blurred horse*

Many Navajo are on horseback.

Many Navajo blankets are seen with stripes.

There are buckets, pans, containers fastened to horses back and children are on horses.

Smithsonian Institution Photo Number 2459-A *Issue of Rations - Small Child in Front*

Children are on horseback.

Men and women are on horseback wearing striped Navajo blankets.

Containers on horses - a large bucket on the horse in front at left center of the picture.

More ornate Navajo blanket seen in left center of the picture near the middle.

Two men standing to the right of the picture. One appears to have buttons down the side of his high top moccasins.

Small child on the horseback at the lower middle edge of the picture.

Smithsonian Institution Phto Number SM-2459-C *Issue of Rations - By Wall*

Many packed horses standing by the wall and striped Navajo blankets evident.

Many blankets are white (light) background and stripes, very coarse weave and thick.

U.S. Signal Corps Photo Number SC-89620 *Issue Day [?] - Snow*

Blankets very evident - many commercial (appears to be), a few Navajo.

Hats and headbands are visible.

Snowing in the picture.

---

1. Lawrence R. Murphy, *Frontier Crusader - William F. M. Arny*, University of Arizona Press, 1972, p. 216.

CHAPTER THREE

NAVAJO DELEGATION TO WASHINGTON

DISCUSSION

A group of Navajo made a trip to Washington, D.C. in 1874 accompanied by their Indian Agent William F.M. Arny. Arny favored a realignment of the boundaries of the Navajo reservation which would have resulted in the Navajos giving up land in the northern portion of the land (around the San Juan) and receiving land on the southern edge (south of Fort Defiance). In order to get favorable consideration for this land exchange and for other reasons Arny arranged to take a group of Navajo headmen to Washington, D.C.

Manuelito's wife (Juanita) was the only woman to accompany the group. The group consisted of eleven leaders and did much to publicize the Navajo in the Capitol and on the eastern seaboard.

The trip accomplished little that was concrete and in fact perhaps provided fuel to the oppostion which resulted in Arny's removal as Agent to the Navajo in 1875.

The Navajo delegation to Washington left in mid-November 1874 and returned in February 1875. The expenses of the trip were borne by the Navajos through their treaty annuities.

Conflicting descriptions of the trip are found in Murphy's book, *Frontier Crusader - William F. M. Arny* and in McNitt's book, *Indian Traders.* Murphy pictured Arny as a well-intentioned poor administrator who felt he knew what was best for the Navajo. There is no doubt but that Arny was a salesman who was able to fight vigorously for what he felt was right.

McNitt characterizes Arny as a hypocrite who plotted larceny and who was bitterly opposed to "squaw men." McNitt felt Arny's motivation for the land exchange was financial and that if approved would have resulted in the Navajo giving up some of their best land for land which was far inferior in quality.

Both authors discussed in some detail the role "squaw men" played on the Navajo reservation during this period in Navajo history. Arny felt that white men married or living with Navajo women, such as Thomas Keams, William Keams and Anson Damon, set a poor example to the Navajo and exerted undue influence upon the Tribe. He would have liked to see all such men removed from the reservation.

The 1874 trip to Washington was the first in a long continuing effort on the part of the Navajo to present their needs to government officials in the hope that solutions and remedies might be found. The pattern of going to Washington to seek assistance and understanding has continued to the present and certainly will continue into the future. Some trips are more productive than others but regardless such trips will continue.

---

1. Lawrence R, Murphy, *op. cit.*, pp. 202-245.
   Frank McNitt, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-165.

113

Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2410-C. **"Navaho Delegation to Washington, D.C. 1874."** Front row: Carnero Mucho; Mariana; Juanita, Manuelito's wife; Manuelito, head chief; Manuelito Segundo, son of Manuelito and Juanita; Tiene-su-se. Back row: "Wild" Hank Sharp (white); Ganado Mucho or Much Cattle; Barbas Hueros or Light Beard; Governor Arny, Indian agent at Navaho reservation; Kentucky Mountain Bill (white); Cabra Negra; Cayatanita; Narbona Primero; Jesus Alviso, Navaho captive. Photographer and date unknown.

Smithsonian Institution - photo # 4812. **"Governor Arny."** Photographer and date unknown.

Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2405. **"Juanita [wife of Manuelito] and Governor Arny." Navaho Delegation to Washington, D.C. 1874."** Photographer unknown.

Smithsonian Institution - photo 54621. **"Group of Navaho Indians from Northern Arizona, samples of blankets made by them."** C. R. Savage, photographer. ca. 1870's (?).

Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2424-A. **"Large group of Navaho men in canyon outside of adobe building. Rather formal portrait, as though group assembled to talk with white men."** No information as to date or scene but negative looks like 1870's, possibly from one of the Wheeler Surveys. Photographer unknown.

COMMENTS ON SELECT

NAVAJO DELEGATION TO WASHINGTON PHOTOGRAPHS

Smithsonian Institution Photo Number SM-2410C *Navajo Delegation with Governor Arny - 1874*

Men more dressed up compared to Fort Sumner and Fort Defiance photos - obviously wearing their best.
Almost all wearing necklaces - some with "jac'loo."
There are three silver concho belts.
Navajo blankets are more ornate - with darker colors and fancier designs.
Manuelito's wife in center is wearing five strand necklace which appears to be coral with larger turquoise stones.
Some of the group are wearing rings (4 visible on 2 people).
The necklace on the man sitting on the extreme right appears to be silver with a silver naja.
Several men (4) are wearing high-top moccasins with silver buttons or decorations up the side.
The tops of the men's moccasins (high top) are fastened with handwoven garter (like sash belt but smaller).
Man sitting near center of picture holds a fringed quiver case for bow and arrow: three bows are held by other Navajos.
Five men are wearing earrings of which at least one appears to be silver wire circle; the other earrings appear to be turquoise nuggets.
Rug Arny is holding on his shoulder is pictorial rug with "1776 USA" visible.
Second man from left holding a cap and ball pistol.
Manuelito is wearing a top hat which must have come from Washington.

Photo Number SM-2405 *Manuelito's Wife and Army - 1874*

Juanita is wearing 3 rings, a bracelet and a coral (?) necklace with turquoise nuggets.
She is looking at a small pictorial Navajo rug of the U.S. flag which has 35 stars.

Photo Number SM-2424-A *Large Group of Navajo in front of adobe building [1870's]*

Photograph shows a group of Navajo men who have long hair - sometimes loose.
They are wearing basically dark clothes instead of the commonly seen white shirts and pants.
Two naja are visible on necklaces worn by 2 men and are on plain strands of silver beads.
There is a silver concho belt with cut-out centers worn by the man almost in the center.
The men are wearing high-top moccasins with woven garters.
Only one man is wearing a striped Navajo blanket (appears to be hot day).
The man second from the right in the front row wears some ragged clothes.
Man with the silver concho belt appears to have silver buttons down the side of his pants (pants are worn inside of high top moccasins).
There are 7 necklaces visible of which 4 appear to be all or part silver - the rest are shell and/or turquoise.
Second man from the left (standing) is holding a bow with an iron arrow head.
Five men are wearing earrings of which four seem to be silver wire circles.

CHAPTER FOUR

NAVAJO WEAVING

DISCUSSION

The photographs contained in the chapter on Navajo weaving should be studied along with the photographs contained in the Chapters on "Fort Sumner," "Issue of Rations at Fort Defiance," as well as the various photographs included in Part II - Navajo People. Only in this manner can one get a true feeling for the beauty and diversity of Navajo weaving during the period in question. It is especially important to look at the earliest photographs which show particularily Navajo men wearing Navajo blankets which are predominantly white in their background accompanied by a series of stripes which makeup the decorative part of the blanket. These blankets upon close examination and magnification seem to be exceedingly thick and coarsely woven.

An examination of the existing books and publications dealing with Navajo weaving, as well as physically visiting some of the major museums housing early Navajo textiles, does not appear to provide a proper and important place for these early examples of Navajo weaving. The literature and the museums give little attention to and have few examples of the type of blankets which appear so prevalent in early Navajo photographs.

The photographs contained within this book clearly demonstrate the vital position weaving occupied in Navajo life during the period of 1860 through 1910. Each and every photograph almost invariably shows one or more examples of Navajo weaving. The earliest Fort Sumner photographs show literally hundreds of striped blankets being worn by Navajos. Later photographs show more elaborate designs but continue to reveal the dominant position that weaving occupied in the life of the Navajo.

If one recognizes and respects the importance of weaving in Navajo culture one must also recognize the related role Navajo women play in Navajo society. Since weaving was done by the woman and since weaving was such an important characteristic and expression of Navajo culture, the role and position of women was equally dominant and important. During the period from 1860 to 1910 products of Navajo weaving were bartered and sold. The very fact that women were the producers, not only of this beauty but also of this marketable commodity, certainly must have strengthened the already important role women played in Navajo life.

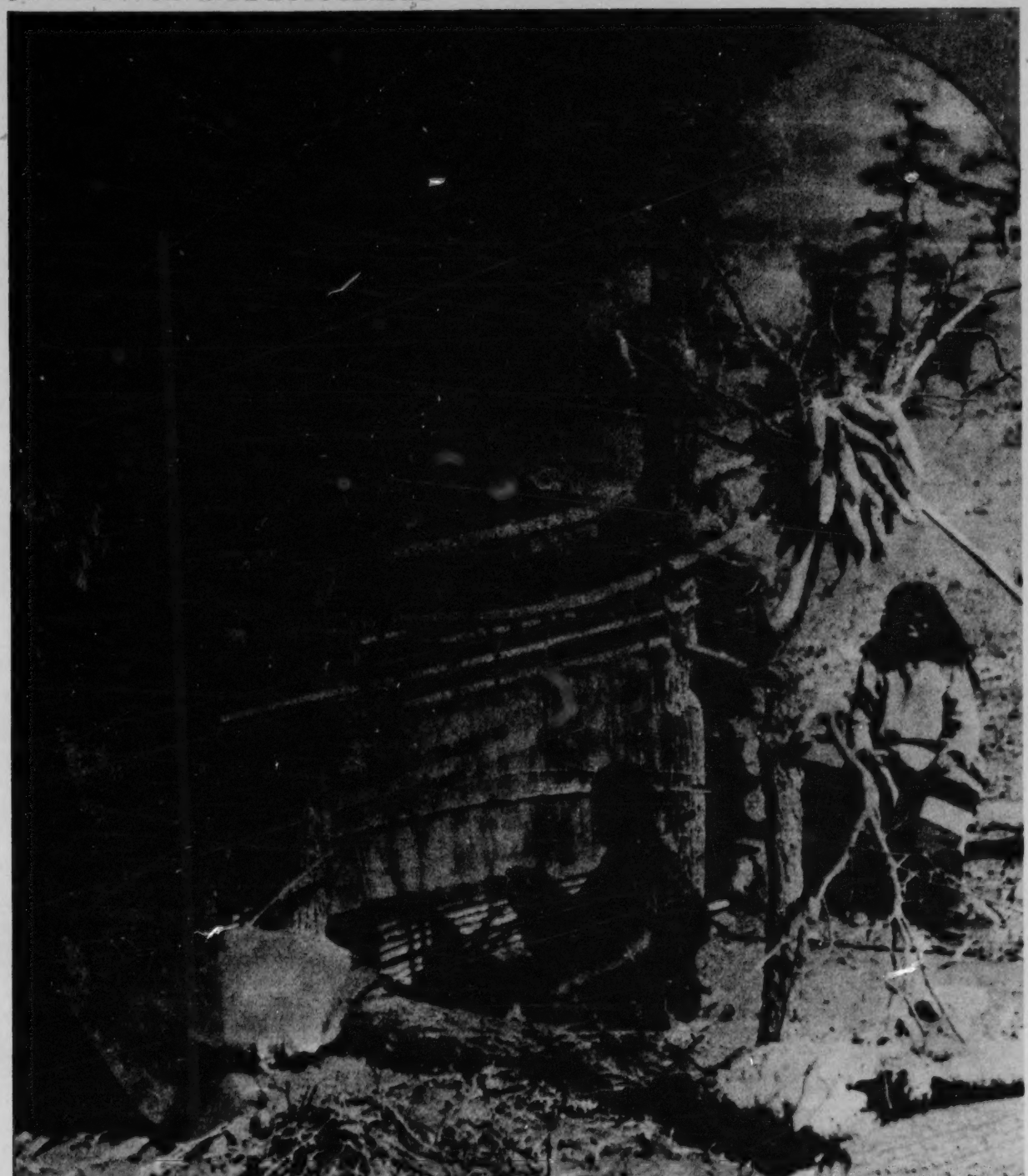
In the Commissioner of Indian Affairs Annual Report for 1876, the Indian Agent in charge at the Navajo Agency declared that some Navajo blankets sold for as much as $125 a piece.[1]

In 1894 Lieutenant Plummer, Acting Indian Agent at the Navajo Agency suggested:

> *The purchase of Navajo blankets for all Indian schools to give the Navajos a profitable market for their wool.*[2]

---

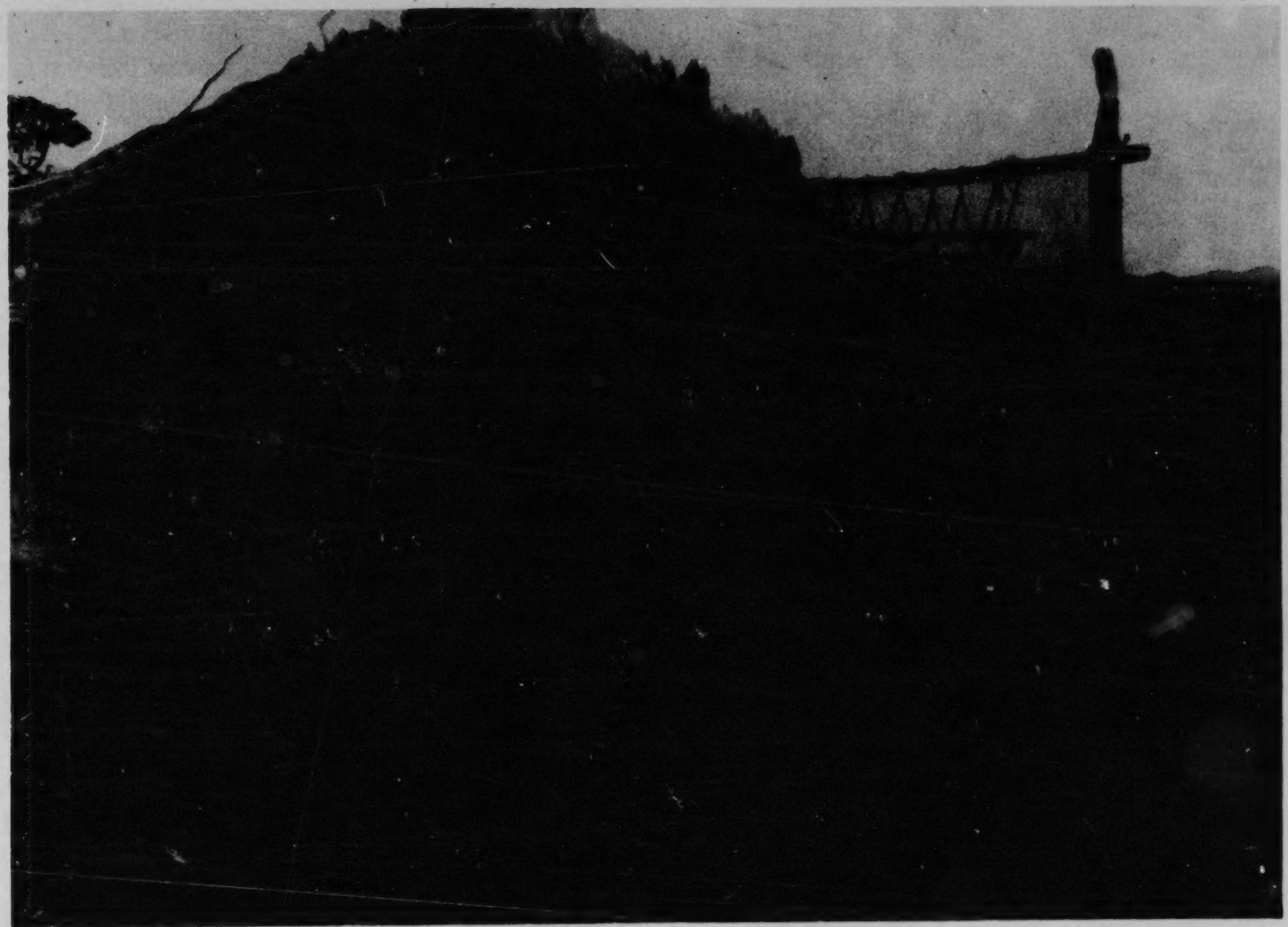
1. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1876*, Washington 1876, p. 106.
2. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1894*, Washington 1894, p. 100.



Chief of Engineers - photo # 77-WB-26. **"Aboriginal life among the Navajo Indians, Canon de Chelle, New Mexico. Squaw weaving blankets. The native loom. The blankets made are of the best quality and impervious to water, 1873."** T. H. O'Sullivan, photographer.

Smithsonian Institution - photo # 56140. **"Woman weaving, 1882-87."** Christian Barthelmess, photographer.

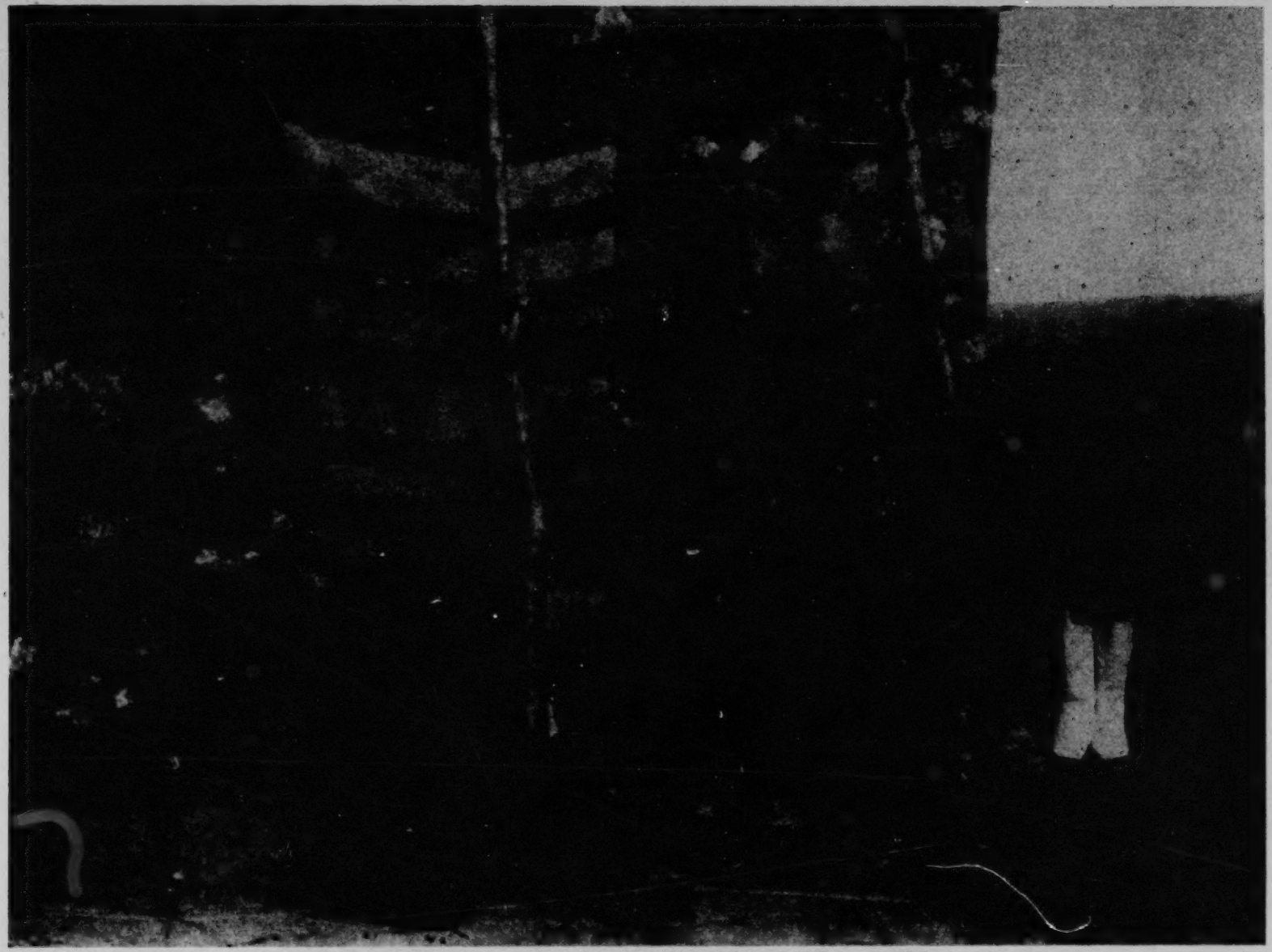
Smithsonian Institution - photo 56,041. **"Man sitting in front of a loom on which there is a partially woven rug."** Photographer and date unknown.



Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2438. **"A Navaho woman at loom, Navaho reservation, Arizona, New Mexico."** Probably E. H. Maude, photographer. ca. 1890's or earlier.

Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2429. **"Two women spinning in the camp of Charlie the weaver. Near Keams Canyon, Navajo Reservation, Arizona 1893."** James Mooney, photographer.

Smithsonian Institution - photo 2433. "Blanket and belt weaving by Charlie and family - near Keams Canyon, Arizona. Charlie at blanket loom. Nadespa [aged 5] carding wool. Woman [right] at belt frame, and woman [left] spinning. James Mooney, photographer, 1893.



Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2435-A. **"Woman weaving blanket outside adobe building, small boy and young girl carding wool. Arizona, New Mexico, winter of 1892-93."** James Mooney, photographer.

Smithsonian Institution - photo 2432. **"Navaho woman weaving a blanket. White man standing at right."**
July 1893-Sept. 1894. Photographer probably Cosmos Mindeleff.

Smithsonian Institution - Photo # 53494. **"Girl weaving a rug."** Taken or collected by J. H. Bratley, ca. 1902.

Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation - photo # 2447. **"Many Horses' Squaw and loom. Ganado, Arizona."** G. Pepper, photographer, 1904.

136

Comments on Select

Navajo Weaving Photographs

Chief of Engineers Photo Number 77-WB-26 — *Aboriginal life among the Navajo Indians, Canon de Chelle, New Mexico. Squaw weaving blankets. The native loom. Blankets made are of the best quality, and impervious to water*

Woman in traditional Navajo two piece dress - hand woven - at loom with striped design blanket being woven.
Her hair tied up in back.
Corn hanging in tree.
Necklace on woman by loom perhaps glass beads (silver) with turquoise nuggets.
No rugs or bracelets visible.
Man or woman sitting to right of picture with long hair - untied - looks like woman with cut nose.

Smithsonian Institution Photo Number 56,140 — *Woman weaving 1882-87*

Wearing traditional hand woven two piece wool dress with design on shoulders.
At the waist a cluster of silver beads.
Her hair tied up in a knot - grey hair.

Smithsonian Institution Photo Number 56,041 — *Man sitting in front of a loom on which there is a partially woven rug*

Wearing head band - earrings (large silver circles), and old type round cut-out center concho belt.
High top moccasins with silver beads down the side of the moccasins also silver beads down part of side of pants which are tucked into the high moccasins (just below the knees).
Small hand woven garter around top of high top moccasin.
Old type striped Navajo blanket on the ground (first stage chief blanket) sitting on buffalo skin (?).

Smithsonian Institution Photo Number 2438 — *A Navajo woman at loom, Navaho Reservation, Arizona, New Mexico*

Wearing cotton blouse and skirt - not woven dress - no moccasins - bare feet.
No silver at all - appear to be poor.

Smithsonian Institution Photo Number 2429 — *Two women spinning in the camp of Charlie the weaver. Near Keams Canyon, Navajo Reservation, Arizona 1893.*

Wrap-around moccasins - old type. Two piece hand woven dark wool dress.
Both have necklaces - one silver with naja and other all shell - multistrands (8?).
Coarse striped blanket around one woman's shoulders.

Smithsonian Institution Photo Number 2433 — *Blanket and belt weaving by Charlie and family, near Keams Canyon, Arizona. Charlie at blanket loom. Nadespa (aged 5) carding wool, woman (right) at belt frame, and woman (left) spinning.*

Two women wearing plain silver bracelets.
One woman wearing concho belt-round large, conchos with cut-out centers.
One woman wearing zig-zag (not blanket) other woman weaving on sash belt loom, third woman spinning sitting on older striped typed coarse Navajo rug.
Small girl carding wool with commercial type cards - wearing old type two piece woven wool dress - bracelet, silver necklace with naja.
Wrap around moccasins worn where visible - two women wearing necklaces - one turquoise and/or shell, the other woman wearing squash blossom plus bead type necklace - third woman not visible if wearing any necklace.
No turquoise in any silver work. Small girl's necklace had silver crosses instead of squash blossom.
Snow on the ground.
Navajo saddle on horse.
Silver bridle on horse.

Smithsonian Institution Photo Number 2435-A — *Woman weaving blanket outside adobe building, small boy and young girl carding wool*

Small girl carding - wearing cotton blouse and cotton skirt - sitting on double weave (twill) saddle blanket.
Mother by loom with turquoise nugget earrings - no other jewelry on anyone.
Striped old type Navajo blanket fastened on wall of house.
Small boy with dark shirt perhaps made out of a blanket and white cotton pants - wearing moccasins - pants come to top of foot.
Quirt lying on the ground - made of braided leather (rawhide?).

Smithsonian Institution Photo Number 2432 — *Navaho woman weaving a blanket. White man standing at right*

Woman wearing cotton blouse and cotton skirt standing by loom - weaving saddle blanket.
The shelter appears in or near a cave.
Hoe, knife, axe, cup, bucket and bowl on the ground, and an old Navajo blanket on bush (stripes - dark).

Smithsonian Institution Photo Number 53494 — *Girl weaving a rug*

Blanket (rug ?) very coarse wool - almost like rope - large!
Weaver wearing silver bracelet - no stones in it.
Cotton blouse and cotton skirt.

Museum of the American Indian Photo Number 2447 — *Many Horses' Squaw and loom*

Cotton blouse and separate cotton skirt (full).
No moccasins - bare feet.
Her hair tied in traditional Navajo manner.

CHAPTER FIVE

NAVAJO CRAFTS

DISCUSSION

Few native people in the world have received such renown as have the Navajo in two such different and yet related crafts as weaving and silverwork. It would be untrue to characterize Pueblo weaving and silverwork, then or now, as having reached and maintained the level of excellence in these two crafts as have the Navajo. Perhaps, the key to this artistic brilliance lies in the traditional and pervasive cultural value the Navajo place in beauty. Beauty is something that is respected and admired in almost every Indian culture but it would seem that among the Navajo beauty has been incorporated into the very fabric of the philosophy and value system to a larger degree than many other tribes. In a culture where beauty is not only something seen and expressed but something ever present and all powerful, it is important to recognize that the earliest photographs of the Navajos clearly show the vitality and presence of beauty not only in those elements and traits that a culture may characterize as art and hence beautiful, but also in the mundane everyday elements that make up a culture which are not usually thought of as beautiful: i.e. clothing.

In examining the photographs contained in this publication which show Navajo jewelry, it is important to remember that the tide runs both ways. Most of the literature credits the Navajo from learning ironwork from a Mexican smith, before Fort Sumner, and then during Fort Sumner and immediately following the Navajo developed that skill into the capacity to work silver.[1] The literature presents two major influences on early Navajo silverwork. One is the influence of the Spanish and the other is the influence of the Plains tribes. Undoubtedly these two influences did indeed occur and it would be foolhardy for anyone to deny such important contacts. However, the research reflected in the literature which leads to the conclusions identified above is not all that conclusive. It is also possible that the Navajos themselves may have influenced Spanish silverwork and may have influenced Plains Indian silverwork. We do not **know** that the first german-silver bridles were made by the Plains Indians. We do not **know** that the first use of the squash blossom was by Spanish silversmiths. Such statements have significant supporting documentation (favoring Plains and Spanish origins) - but not conclusive and complete. The jewelry revealed in these

---

1. Margery Bedinger, *Indian Silver - Navajo and Pueblo Jewelers*, University of New Mexico, 1973. pp. 5-15.

Arthur Woodward, *A Brief History of Navajo Silversmithing*, Northern Arizona Society of Science and Art, 1946. pp. 14-20.

John Adair, *The Navajo and Pueblo Silversmiths*, University of Oklahoma, 1944, p. 4-6n.

photographs and reported in the literature even prior to Fort Sumner should certainly lead one to marvel at the explosive spread of such a craft. The earliest photographs in the book, taken at Fort Sumner, perhaps as early as 1863 and certainly no later than 1868, show at least some silver, or metal jewelry. In a period of less than ten years, the photographs of the Navajo delegation to Washington in 1874, show a multitude of silver jewelry in a variety of shapes and forms. One wonders if indeed the Navajos were first exposed to ironwork/silverwork at Fort Sumner or whether they perhaps had some practicing silversmiths even earlier.

Even the literature has numerous reports of Navajos wearing silver jewelry before Fort Sumner. A newspaper article dated 1823 described a Navjo chief as wearing clothes "connected at the sides by silver buttons . . . and a scarlet cloth cap the folds of which were secured by silver buttons."[1]

Kluckhohn, one of the greatest Navajo scholars, stated: "there were blacksmiths among them as early as 1840."[2]

Captain Henry L. Dodge brought into the Navajo reservation near Washington Pass, where he established the agency, a Mexican silversmith as well as a blacksmith - as early as 1853.[3]

Astsidi Sam, who is most often thought to be the first Navajo to work silver, visited the silversmith and ironsmith brought to the reservation by Captain Dodge in 1853.[4]

A report dated 1864 written by a correspondent visiting Fort Sumner declared the Navajos' "fabricate saddles, and bridles, and buckles, buttons and clasps of silver which are tasteful ornaments. . ."[5]

Consequently, it is certainly possible that silversmithing was learned by some Navajos before Fort Sumner.

In fact, it is interesting to note that Dr. Washington Matthews, who was one of the most respected early Navajo scholars and who wrote from personal experiences and study, declared:

> *When and how the art of working metals was introduced among them, I have not been able to determine; but there are many reasons for supposing that they have long possessed it; believe they are not indebted to the Europeans for it.*[6]

Remember, Matthews' comments were made about 12 years after the Navajos returned from Fort Sumner. Those later writers who attribute the origin of Navajo silversmithing to Fort Sumner were writing between 80 to 100 or more years later.

The photographs contained in this book clearly show the full utilization by the Navajo of silver jewelry as well as shell, turquoise and coral jewelry. The jewelry was worn by both sexes and was worn in the same manner and with many of the same designs that are used today.

There is another publication of the Rough Rock Demonstration School dealing solely with Navajo Arts and Crafts.

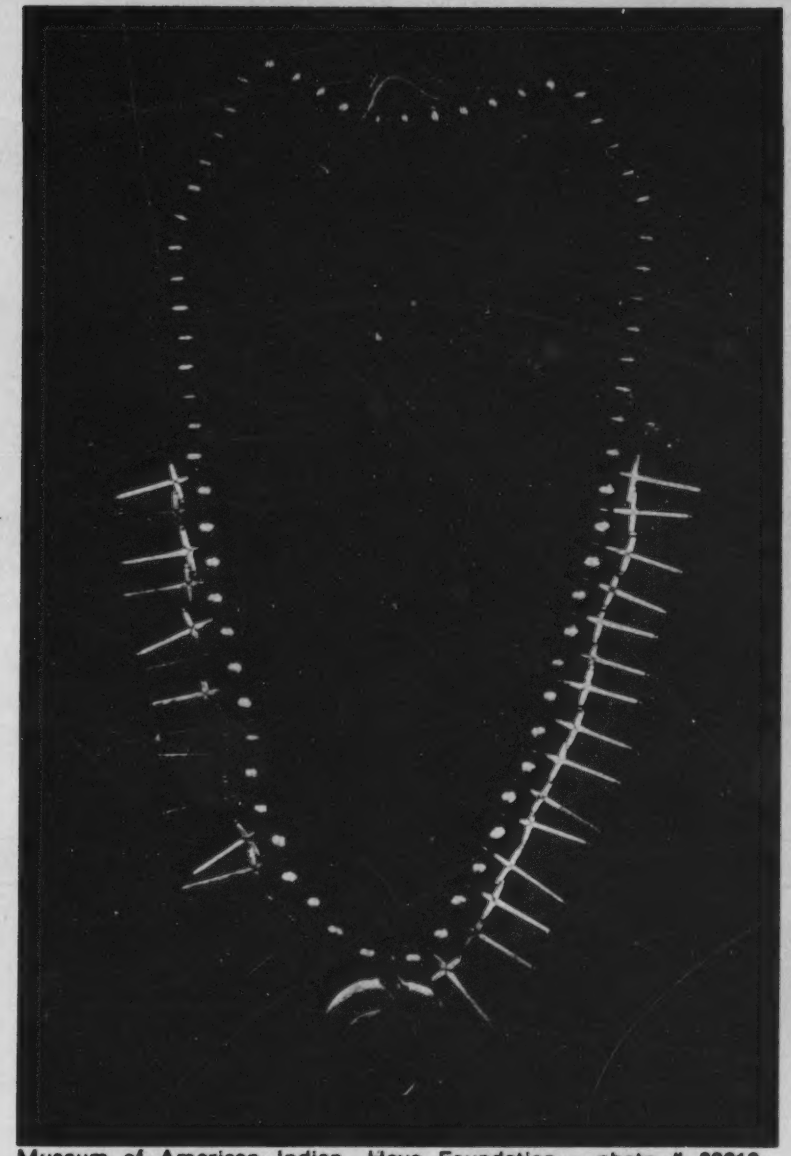
---

1. Arthur Woodard, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-55, quoted Newspaper article, Missouri Intelligence, April 3, 1823.
2. Clyde Kluckhohn, "The Navaho in the Machine Age," *Technology Review* XLIV, February 1942, p. 179.
3. Woodard, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
6. Washington Matthews, "Navajo Silversmith" *Second Report of the Bureau of Ethnology 1880-1881*, Washington, 1883.

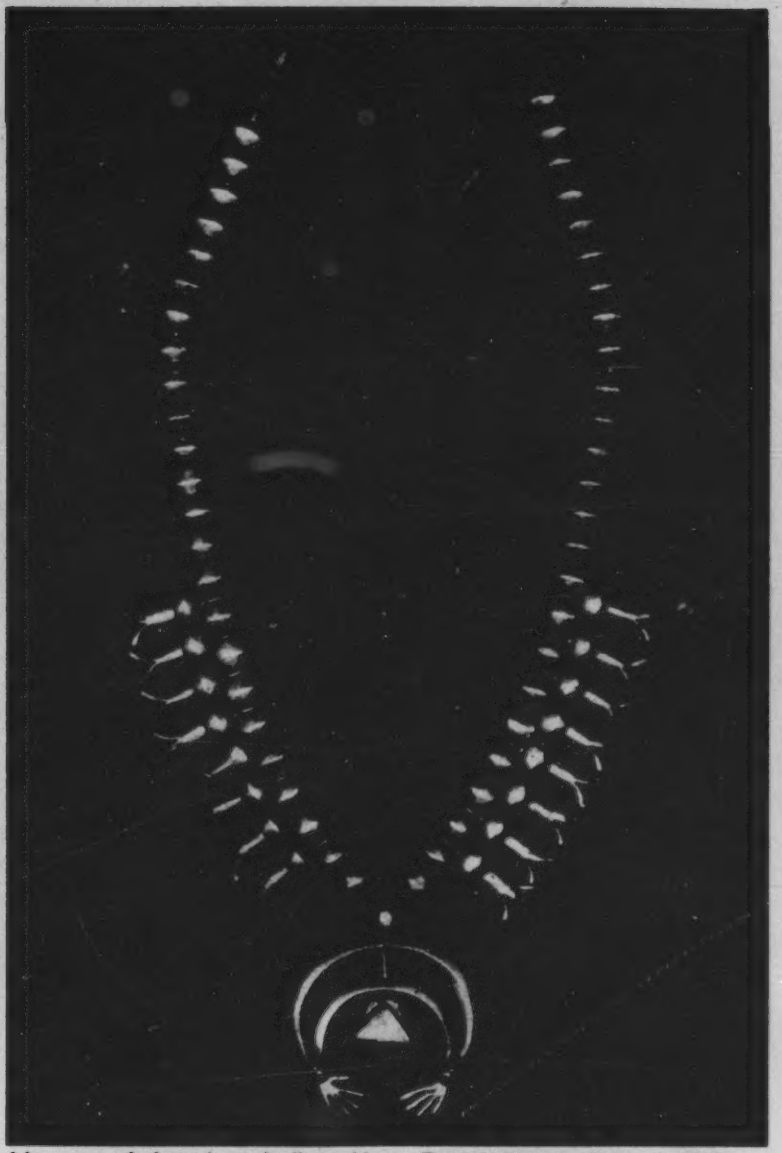
Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2427. "Pesh-lakai-lihini, a silversmith, hammering silver, outside earth lodge. Small boy, his son is standing near billows. Man at right is using bow drill. Navaho Reservation, Arizona-New Mexico, winter of 1892-93." James Mooney, photographer.

Smithsonian Institution - photo # 41,106-E. **"Peshlakai or Slender Silver-Maker, a famous Navajo silversmith."** Frank Randall, photographer; ca. 1885.

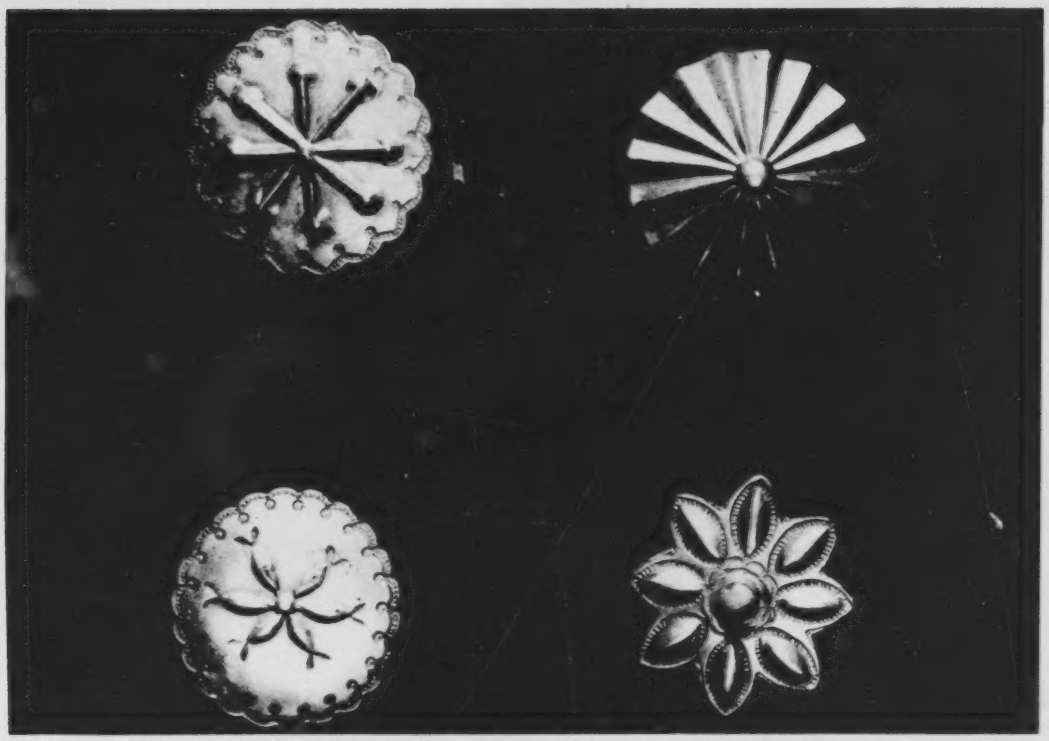
Museum of American Indian - Heye Foundation - photo # 31720. **"View of a working silversmith and a young girl. Hogan in background. Navajo, Arizona."** Photographer unknown; ca. 1910.



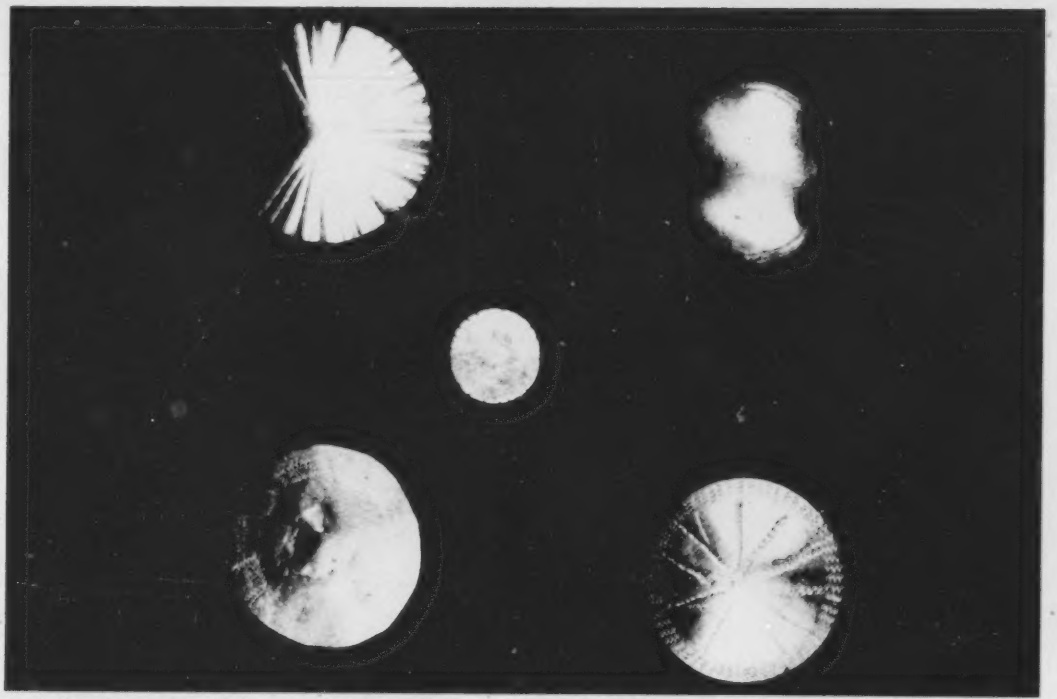
Museum of American Indian, Heye Foundation - photo # 38212. **"Silver bead necklace with naja pendant ornamented with small crosses. Said to have been made for the wife of Kit Carson. 15 inches long. Navajo, New Mexico."** Photographer and date unknown.



Museum of American Indian, Heye Foundation - photo # 29471. **"Silver squash blossom necklace with 'naja' pendant. 15 inches long. Navajo, New Mexico."** Photographer unknown; 1920.

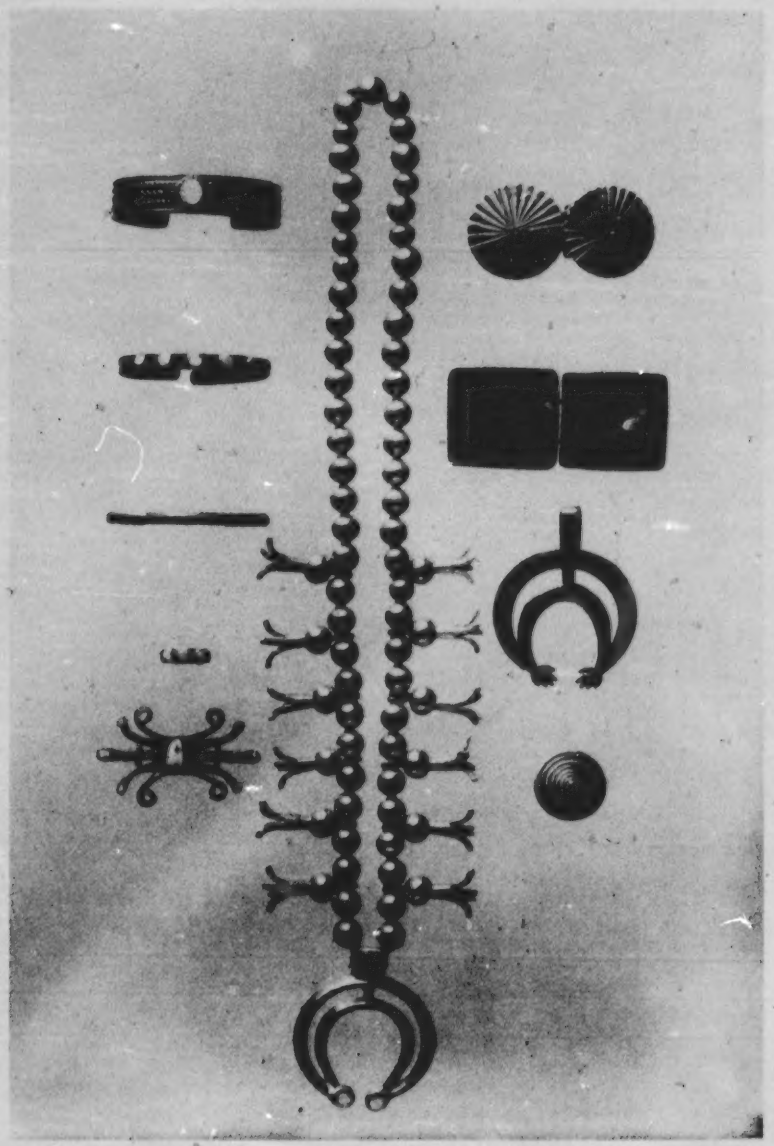


Museum of American Indian, Heye Foundation - photo # 29472. **"Silver conchas. Top left diameter 1 7/8 inches. Navajo, New Mexico."** Photographer and date unknown.

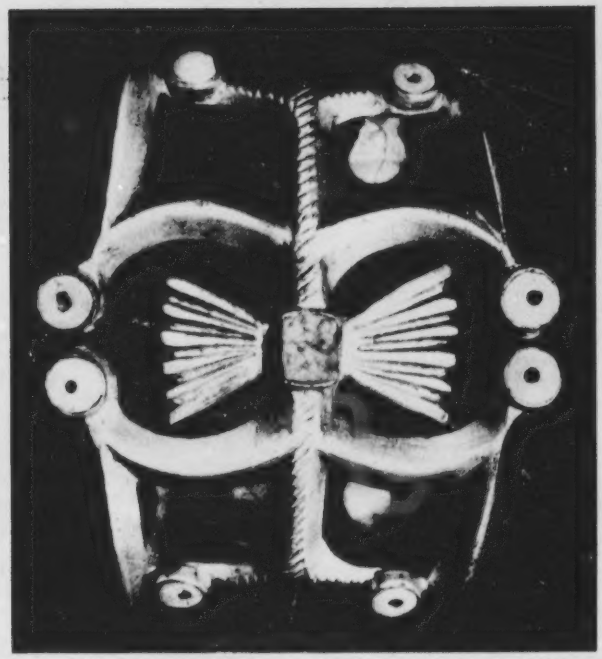


Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation - photo # 38220. **"Top Row - Left: Silver button, roulette design. Center: Small flat silver button, filed design. Right: Silver button, roulette design. Bottom Row - Left: Silver button, crude rayed design. Right: Crude silver button, roulette design. 1 1/4 inches diameter. Navajo, New Mexico."** Photographer and date unknown.

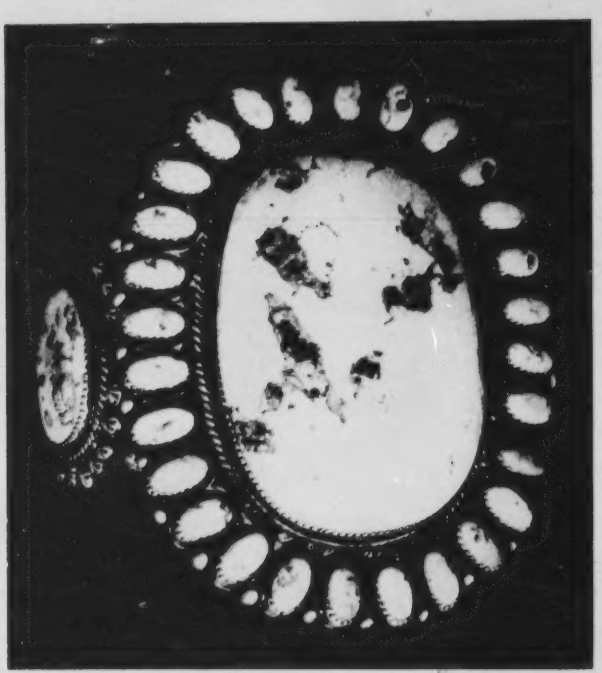
Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation - photo # 38216. **"Minature silver flask. 4 inches long. Navajo, New Mexico."** Photographer and date unknown.



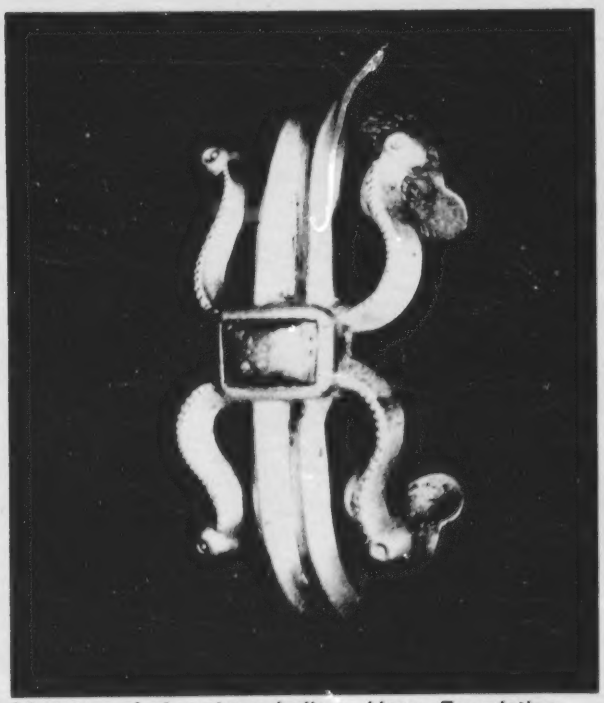
Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2428. **"Silver ornaments by Navaho artisans."** Photographer and date unknown.



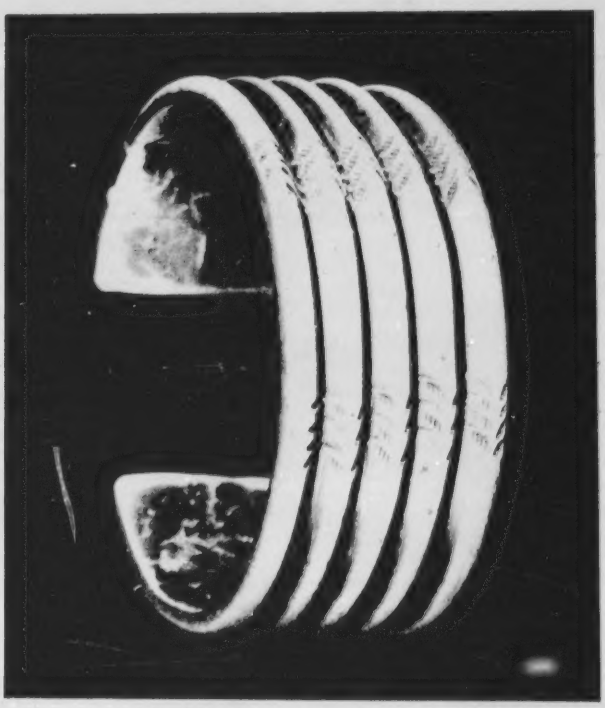
Museum of American Indian, Heye Foundation - photo # 29467. **"Silver bracelet with turquoise inlays. 2 5/8 inches wide. Navajo, New Mexico."** Photographer and date unknown.



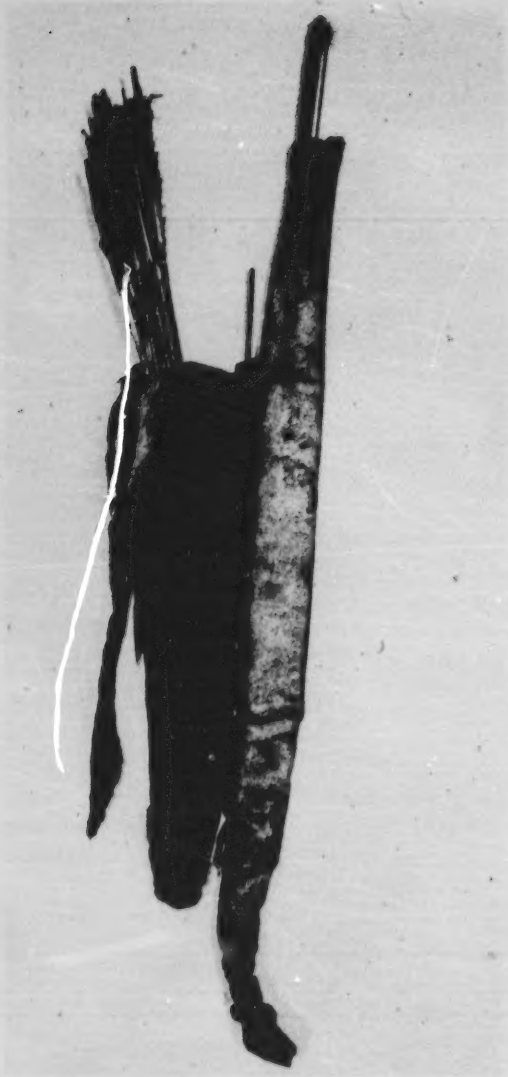
Museum of American Indian, Heye Foundation - photo # 29469. **"Large silver bracelet multiple turquoise inlays. 3 5/8 inches wide. Navajo, New Mexico."** Photographer and date unknown.



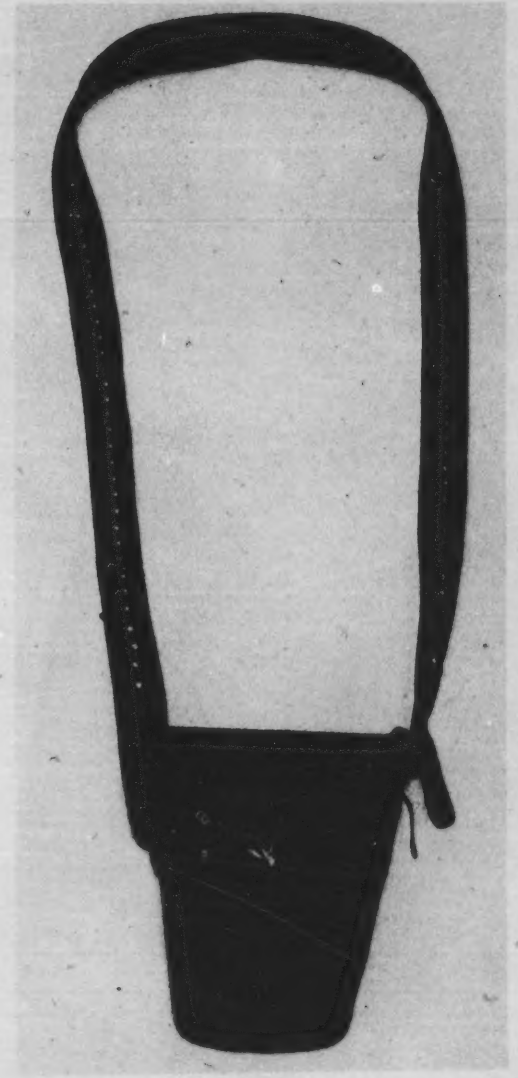
Museum of American Indian, Heye Foundation - photo # 29468. **"Silver bracelet with turquoise inlay. 1 1/8 inches wide. Navajo, New Mexico."** Photographer and date unknown.



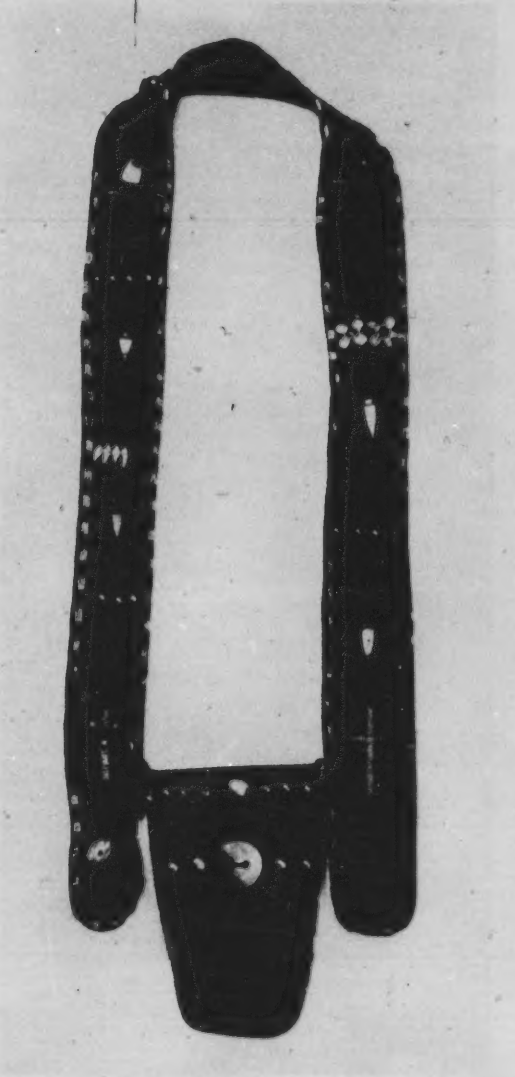
Museum of American Indian, Heye Foundation - photo # 29470. **"Silver bracelet, incised decoration. 1 inch wide. Navajo, New Mexico."** Photographer and date unknown.



Museum of American Indian, Heye Foundation - photo # 28901. **"Bow case and quiver of mountain lion skin, with bow and arrows. Greatest length 48 1/2 inches."** Photographer and date unknown.



Museum of American Indian, Heye Foundation - photo # 38218. **"Leather tobacco bag trimmed with silver. 30 inches long. Navajo, New Mexico."** Photographer and date unknown.



Museum of American Indian, Heye Foundation - photo # 38214. **"Leather belt and bag decorated with discs and beadwork. 30 inches long. Navajo Indians, New Mexico."** Photographer and date unknown.

Museum of American Indian, Heye Foundation - photo # 3822. **"Navajo saddle. Chaco Canon, New Mexico."** Pepper, photographer. 1899.

Comments on Select

Navajo Crafts Photographs

Smithsonian Institution Photo Number 2427 *Silversmith with bellows*

The man on the left holds a hammer and is working on a naja. He is using a large metal spike (wedge) as anvil and has a blanket over his shoulder.

He has a silver necklace which has small silver beads and a cross in place of the naja.

He also has one ring on and is wearing a "Gato" (bow guard) on the left wrist. His clothing consists of a dark blouse with white cotton pants with slit sides and high top moccasins which come just below the knees.

The man has turquoise nugget earrings on and a dark head-band.

A small boy stands to the right of a homemade bellows. The boy is also wearing a dark blouse (shirt) and lighter pants, slit up the side as well as moccasins with a silver button visible. On top of the bellows is a piece of rock in which the impression of a naja has been carved, for use in making a sand cast naja.

Smithsonian Institution Photo Number 41,106-E *Peshlakai - famous Navajo silversmith* *1885*

Peshlakai holding a silver concho belt - oblong solid conchos with holes punched around the edges.

A silver bridle hanging to the left of the picture.

Peshlakai wearing necklace with small silver beads with a simple naja.

Five strands of turquoise or shell necklace also worn by Peshlakai.

Turquoise nugget earrings with a cloth headband.

High top moccasins with garter (handwoven) around the top of the moccasins.

Down the side of the moccasin is a row of eight silver buttons.

Various tools, (punchers, hammer, snips) lie to the right of the picture on top of an army saddle bag.

Peshlakai wearing a silver cut-out center concho belt.

Other props - yucca, bushes, and so forth are part of the setting used by photographer.

Museum of American Indian Photo Number 31720 *Silversmith and child* *1910*

The man dressed in dark shirt wearing nugget type turquoise necklace (first of this type seen in any photograph up to this time - 1910).

The man using a small ball-pin hammer and has a larger such hammer lying on the ground.

He is using a piece of a railroad rail as anvil.

Snips and various dies lying on the ground in front of the silversmith.

The man wears turquoise nugget type earrings.

The small girl wears velveteen (?) blouse and cotton skirt; she is also wearing squash blossom necklace and silver twisted bracelet.

Silver and other ornaments fastened at waist of the girl.

A hogan in the background, not forked stick but round and mud covered.

CHAPTER SIX

NAVAJO EDUCATION

DISCUSSION

One of the biggest mistakes that occurs in any discussion or analysis of Navajo education is the belief that Navajo education began as a result of Article 6 of the 1868 treaty which required the government to provide education at the rate of one teacher for every thirty children between the ages of six and sixteen.[1] The feeling that education is a white man's invention is completely in error and reflects the "father knows best" approach which characterizes so much of the dealings of the dominant society with the Native Americans. The Navajos did have a traditional system of education which allowed and provided the means by which Navajo culture could be passed on, changed, and retained.

The photographs dealing with Navajo education are limited in number but clearly identify two major thrusts and historical programs that formed the heart of Navajo education during the period covered in this book (1860-1910).

First, the development and reliance on off-reservation boarding schools was one of the major devices whereby formal Navajo education was effected. The objective was the destruction of Navajo culture by removing the child far from the harmful influence of his home and family.

Carlisle Indian School was founded by a man who had both courage and vision but a man whose vision did not include any future or need for Indian culture and the continuation of separate Indian tribes. Colonel Pratt, the founder of Carlisle Indian School, was an army officer with experience in fighting Indians on the southern plains and whose dream for the Indian included the destruction of Indian tribal entities and the abolition of Indian culture. The technique used to accomplish these twin purposes was the establishment of an army-oriented boarding school far removed from the damaging influences of Indian tribes, Indian parents and Indian reservations. Colonel Pratt started a system of education which is still prevalent and evident today: boarding schools located in off-reservation communities. Many teachers in those and other types of Indian schools even today believe that the future success of Indian students will rest in direct proportion to the degree that they forget their Indian language, culture and history and become "real Americans" who understand and believe only in the primacy and supremacy of the dominant society and its way of life.

---

1. Rutn Underhill, *Here Comes the Navajo, Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1953,* p. 178.
2. Richard Henry Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom - Four Decades with the American Indian, 1867-1904,* Yale University Press, 1964.

Elaine Eastman, *Pratt, Red Man's Moses,* University, Oklahoma Press, 1935.

There are four "before and after" photographs which show Navajos who attended Carlisle Indian school. The photographs reveal the cultural traits and characteristics of the new student arrivals with regard to dress and decoration which were quickly and totally removed soon after the arrival of the Indian students at the school. It is interesting to contemplate what happened to the one Navajo student who was present for the photograph upon the group's arrival at Carlisle but was not present for the later photograph of the group after they had their hair cut and donned the Carlisle uniforms.

Second, the development and reliance on reservation boarding schools was another dominant technique used in educating Navajo students. The first education photograph shows a handful of Navajo students in front of a building, probably the school at Fort Defiance, accompanied by several white people and children. While it is not possible to determine with absolute certainty who the white man standing to the right of the picture is, it would appear to be either David L. Shipley, Indian Agent for the Navajo reservation in 1892-93, or Mr. Wadleigh, the School Superintendent at Fort Defiance. The photograph brings to mind the booklet produced by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the 1952 entitled, *The Trouble at Round Rock*, by Young and Morgan.[1] Briefly, this book presented in Navajo and English a description of a confrontation that took place at Round Rock Trading Post between Indian Agent Shipley and the local Navajo leader Black Horse. The school at Fort Defiance had proved to be singularily unsuccessful in attracting students who would attend voluntarily. Horror stories spread from Fort Defiance throughout the entire reservation telling of beatings, children being chained to beds, handcuffed and placed in solitary, and otherwise physically and mentally abused.[2] This was the reputation that the school at Fort Defiance had in the minds of most Navajos. Consequently, when Shipley needed students for his school he was forced to take Navajo police and go from community to community and literally kidnap the prospective students; rope and tie them, throw them in the back of a wagon and haul them off to school, where if they displayed any dissatisfaction or desire to return back home, they were chained to their bed and/or were forced to haul a large chain and ball around with them. Mr. Wadleigh who was in charge of the school, was called "Billy Goat" by the Navajos: even other government employees complained of the brutal and inhuman treatment he accorded the students.[3]

When Shipley was in the Lukachukai area searching for children, word was sent to Black Horse at Round Rock concerning Shipley's plans to come to Round Rock and look for children. When Shipley arrived at Round Rock he captured one or more young Navajo boys and had them tied and thrown in the back of a wagon. At about that time, Black Horse and his followers came and released the boys and attempted to assist Shipley on his way to heaven. Black Horse grabbed Shipley like a sack of flour and carried him behind the trading post where there was a cliff which looked down over the Lukachukai wash which lay below. Fortunately, or unfortunately, depending on one's persuasion, some of Shipley's police grabbed him from the clutches of Black Horse and his followers and carried him into the trading post where they locked and barred the doors and windows. One of the Navajo police rode for help from a company of cavalry that was camped in the Tsaile area. The Navajo version describes Shipley who in his fear, burrowed in the flour bin to hide which he soiled while the Navajos on the outside rode around shooting their guns in the air.

The next morning the column of cavalry under Lt. Brown, arrived and Shipley ran out covered with white flour demanding that the officer in charge arrest Black Horse and shoot him. Fortunately, the officer listened to both sides and made no effort to even arrest Black Horse. Shipley returned to Fort Defiance empty-handed. Within a year or so, Shipley left the reservation perhaps because he realized his life was not safe if he remained.

---

1. Robert W. Young and William Morgan, *The Trouble at Round Rock*, United States Indian Service, 1952.
2. *Ibid*, p. 11-12.
3. *Ibid*, p. 12.

The photograph in question is thought to be taken in front of the Fort Defiance School and shows Shipley or Wadleigh standing to the right with several Navajo girls dressed in identical uniform-type dresses as well as several Navajo boys all of whom are barefooted. There are several white children in the picture and several other Navajos as well as Anglos whose identity is unknown.

Whatever else the Fort Defiance photograph shows it does show the approach used by schools in terms of eliminating all visible and physical evidence of the life and culture of the Navajo student. The photo stands as a stark reminder of Shipley and of others who have followed in the ranks of Navajo education and who have continued their attack on the culture and the way of life of the Navajo people.

At some later date, the Navajo Curriculum Center at the Rough Rock Demonstration School plans to publish a pictorial book dealing solely with Navajo education. This future publication would present an array of photographs showing Navajo formal education from its origin to the present.

In the Commissioner of Indian Affairs Report for 1876, not a single Navajo, out of an estimated population of some 11,000, was identified as being able to read.[1] By 1897, the Report for that year stated 220 Navajo could read out of a total population of 20,000.[2]

C. E. Vandever, Indian Agent, Navajo Agency, August 22, 1890 wrote, referring to the construction of a new school at "Chin-a-lee."[3]

> *It will be located on one of the best portions of the reservation, where there has always been a large population, and can be filled with pupils by putting forth a strong effort. Parents will more readily send their children to a school which is near their own home.*
>
> *I would suggest that at all the schools upon the reservation the common arts would be taught instead of taking the children for this purpose to the strange environment in the East. I am confident they more readily comprehend and assimilate instruction imparted to them here without severing them from their native surroundings.*
>
> *I can at least claim the credit of being the first agent to fill the school-house to its utmost capacity.*

In 1886, the Government spent a total of $6,650.29 to operate the school at the Navajo Agency.[4] *Expenditures by Government for:*

Employees	*$3,844.60*
Subsistence	*1,772.67*
Clothing	*664.92*
School Materials	*56.75*
School Furnishings	*212.51*
Buildings and Repairs	*0*
Fuel and light	*54.84*
Miscellaneous	*44.00*
TOTAL	*$6,650.29*

The amount for employees included a staff of 14 persons with the top salary for the "Superintendent and principal teacher" at $1,000 per annum, to the lowest salary of $480 per annum for the laundress.

---

1. *Report, 1876, op. cit.*, p. 217.
2. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1897*, Washington, 1897, p. 482.
3. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1890*, Washington, 1890, p. 164.
4. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1886*, Washington, 1886, pp. C-CI.

The Report of David L. Shipley, Indian Agent - Navajo Agency August 31, 1891 stated:[1]

The boarding school has been kept up ten months during the year. It has labored under many disadvantages, chief of which was lack of interest by the Indians . . .

I cherish the hope that unless some hidden or unforseen influence swerves the Navajos from their present course they will continue to grow better . . .

The same Report indicates a Navajo school population of 8,000 with an average attendance of 39 with the capacity of the school being 100 students.

Excerpts from two Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs are included. These statements appeared in the 1907 and 1908 Reports and indicate both concern and understanding. Unfortunately, such individuals with such sentiments were rarely able to carry out their enlightened programs.

The Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1907 under the subsection: "A Wasteful School System," declared:[2]

To the attentive reader of my reports for the last two years it must have been plain that their argument pointed toward a marked change in the Indian educational establishment, always in the direction of greater simplicity and a more logical fitness to the end for which it was designed. Such a change must be almost as slow in its complete accomplishment as the upbuilding of the structure whose plans are to be modified. No one hand can bring it all about; the official term, the powers and the resources of no one commissioner are extensive enough to do more than set the machinery in motion and point out to his successors, the Congress, and the public the reasons for his course, trusting that such an appeal to the national common sense will bear fruit in the continuation at least of the general features of his policy.

I entered office with a purpose, which I have kept steadily in view, to enlarge the system of day-school instruction as opposed to the increase of the boarding schools, and among the boarding schools the preference of those on the reservations to those at a distance. The subject has been so fully discussed that no elaborate rehearsal of the argument is called for here. Briefly stated, it pivots on the question whether we are to carry civilization to the Indian or carry the Indian to civilization, and the former seems to me infinitely the wiser plan. To plant our schools among the Indians means to bring the older members of the race within the sphere of influence of which every school is a center. This certainly must be the basis of any practical effort to uplift a whole people. For its demonstration we do not have to look beyond the border line of our experience with Caucasian communities, where it is obvious that the effect upon the character as well as the intelligence of any neighborhood of having abundant school facilities close at hand is by no means confined to the generation actually under the teachers' daily care.

Though the day-school system is the ideal mechanism for the uplifting of the Indians, we can not yet wholly dispense with boarding schools, because so many tribes still continue the nomadic or semi-nomadic habits which would require the continual moving of the day schools from place to place in order to keep near a sufficient number of families for their support. In case a tribe which has had its lands allotted to its members individually has become so scattered over a large area that the distances the pupils would have to come and go would be prohibitive of their regular daily attendance at any school or schools, no matter how carefully located with regard to the convenience of the greatest number of possible patrons. In such instances the difficulties of the situation are reduced to a minimum by a resort to the reservation boarding school, where the children are within easy enough reach of their parents to enable the latter to see them at rather frequent intervals.

But, boarding schools, conducted on the basis on which the Government conducts those established for the benefit of the Indians, are an anomaly in our American

1. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1891*, Washington, 1891, p. 309.
2. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1907*, Washington D.C., pp. 21-24.

scheme of popular instruction. They furnish gratuitously not only tuition--the prime object of their existence--but food, clothing, and permanent shelter during the whole period of a pupil's attendance. In plain English, they are simply educational almshouses, with the unfortunate feature, from the point of view of our ostensible purpose of cultivating a spirit of independence in the Indians, that the charitable phase is obtrusively pushed forward as an attraction instead of wearing the stamp which makes the almshouse wholesomely repugnant to Caucasian sentiment. This tends steadily to foster in the Indian an ignoble willingness to accept unearned privileges; nay, more, from learning to accept them he presently comes, by a perfectly natural evolutionary process, to demand them as rights and to heap demand upon demand. The result is that in certain parts of the West the only conception his white neighbors entertain of an Indian is that of a beggar as aggresive as he is shameless.

Was ever a worse wrong perpetrated upon a weaker by a stronger race? If so, history has failed to record it. Scores of books have been written within the last generation assailing our white civilization for its disregard of the rights of the Indian, seeking their illustrations in the unjustifiable wars opened upon him; in the frauds practiced upon him by unscrupulous trades, contractors, and Government functionaries; in the absorption of his lands, a few thousands acres at a time, at prices which look small indeed beside the valuations at which the same lands have been held since white enterprise has developed them; and yet the authors of these works have been so hypnotized by their abhorrence of such merely physical iniquities that they have overlooked entirely the vastly greater moral damage wrought upon the same victim under the guise of a benevolent desire to civilize him--at long range. As if self-reliance were not at the very foundation of our own civilization! The evils of war, of graft, big and little, of business frauds and all other forms of bad faith are capable of remedy in the same monetary terms in which we measure and remedy evils among our own race; but what compensation can we offer him for undermining his character, and doing it by a method so insidious and unfair?

Unhappily our generation cannot go back and make over from the start the conditions which have come down to us by inheritance. We can, however, do the next best thing, and avoid extending and perpetuating the errors for which we are not responsible, and we can improve every available opportunity for reducing their burden. Just as we have undertaken to free the Indian from the shackles which the reservation system has imposed upon his manhood, so we should recognize it as a duty to free him from the un-American and pauperizing influences which still invest his path to civilization through the schools. The rudiments of an education, such as can be given his children in the little day school, should remain within their reach, just as they are within the reach of the white children who must be neighbors and competitors of the Indian children in their joint struggle for a livelihood. Indeed, this being a reciprocal obligation--the right of the child, red or white, to enough instruction to enable him to hold his own as a citizen, and the right of the Government to demand that every person who handles a ballot shall have ciphering will train it--I believe in compelling the Indian parent, whether he wishes to or not, to give his offspring this advantage. My interpretation of the duty laid upon me by the statue in this regard has carried me even to the use of physical force and arms in the few instances where reasoning and persuation failed and the Indians have defied the Government.

For a little while still, as I have said, the reservation boarding schools must stay for lack of something adequate to take their places; but as fast as one of these can be replaced with day schools the change should be made, and I am pleased to have been able, in my short term of office, to give this movement its start. For the continuance of our 25 nonreservation schools there is no longer any excuse. We spend on these now nearly $2,000,000 a year, which is taken bodily out of the United States Treasury and is, in my judgement, for the most part a mere robbery of the taxladen Peter to pay the non-taxladen Paul and train him in false, undemocratic, and demoralizing ideas. The same money, spent for the same number of years on expanding and strengthening the

Indians' home schools, would have accomplished a hundredfold more good, unaccompanied by any of the harmful effects upon the character of the race.

But how shall we get rid of the nonreservation schools? Close them to-morrow, hand out the auctioneer's flag, and appoint a receiver to wind up their business? That is not necessary. Revolutions accomplished in a night by drastic methods are rarely so complete or so lasting as those for which more time and thought are taken, and which are left to work themselves out after their momentum is once established. At the last session of Congress the proposal was seriously made to abolish one or two of these supernumerary schools. I had no hand in giving it the form it took, but I was glad to see the idea coming to the front, as a sign that our lawmakers were of their own accord beginning to consider the subject. Nothing came of the movement, beyond a brief agitation and frank exchange of views in the committee rooms; but even this was significant that we had at last come within sight of a turning in the long lane of well-meant folly. I sincerely hope that this little stir will be renewed in the next Congress and will spread. The nonreservation schools can be, and ought to be, dropped off one by one or two by two, so as to produce the least practicable disturbance of conditions, but the beginning of their gradual dissolution ought to be no longer deferred.

The Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1908, subsection "Projected School Improvements stated:"[1]

Apropos of this general subject of our schools and the health and welfare of the pupils in them, I am now engaged in studying out some possible improvement in other schools on the reservation. The boarding schools in the reservatons, as long as we are to continue them, demand more or less overhauling as to methods. For one thing, the present practice of keeping all pupils for a ten-month term I consider a mistake, especially in those places where the adult Indians are already well along on the road to civilization and self-support. The youngest of the children--say from 5 to 12 years--ought not to be separated for the better part of a year from their homes and parents; it would be wiser, in my judgment, to let them attend three months in the fall and three months in the spring, choosing those seasons in which they would need least coddling and when they could spend all of each day except a few study hours out of doors. The well-grown boys and girls--from 15 to 20 and upward--whose help is really a necessity to their parents on the family farm and in the household, could be taken only for the winter months, when there is least of their kind of work to do at home and when, consequently, they could be spared without inconvenience. The intermediate group, say 13 to 14 years of age, are at a stage in life when their strength is most liable to be overtaxed, and when mind, body and moral nature are most in danger of receiving an incurable wrap; I should therefore take especial care to surround them with a normal and wholesome environment, encouraging them to work on the home gardens in the spring and in the neighboring orchards--if there are any--in the fall, and take such time as was left to do their school work. This is the general arrangement which prevails in rural communities of white persons of modest means, not in pursuance of any preconcocted schedule or for the sake of testing any particular theory, but because nature and social circumstances combine to make it the only thoroughly practical plan. Why should not an Indian community, which has already conformed itself in part to our common social order and is moving steadily in the direction of general conformity, try the same thing?

1. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1908*, Washington D.C., pp. 20-21.

Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2425. "Group of school children." Cosmos Mindeleff, photographer. July 1893-Sept. 1894.

Smithsonian Institution - photo # 54,624. **"Navajoes from New Mexico, as they arrived at the Carlisle School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Tom Torlino is at left back and Capt. Richard H. Pratt is leaning on the railing."** J. N. Choate, photographer; ca. 1880's.

Smithsonian Institution - photo # 54,624-A. **"Navajoes six months after arrival at the Carlisle School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania."** J. N. Choate, photographer; ca. 1880's.

Museum of New Mexico - photo # 43501. **"Tom Toslino, Navajo as he arrived at Carlisle."** J. N. Choate, photographer. Date unknown.

Museum of New Mexico - photo # 43500. **"Tom Toslino, Navajo after three years at Carlisle School."** J. N. Choate, photographer; date unknown.

Museum of New Mexico - photo # 48714. **"Left - Billi Lizhin (Black Horse); - Taijoni (Squeeser)."** Simeon Schwenberger, photographer. Date unknown.

Comments on Select

Navajo Education Photographs

Smithsonian Institution Photo Number 2425 *Group of school children*

Shipley (?) standing to the right of the picture with a cane.
Five Navajo school girls wearing dresses made out of same cotton material.
All Navajo children are barefooted.
No jewelry on any of the children.
Navajo parents (adults) to the left of the picture.
Several white children present (two).
No one is looking happy.
Taken in front of the stone building with large windows (the school?).

Smithsonian Institution Photo Number 54,624 *Navajo students at Carlisle upon arrival*

A group of twelve students (eleven boys and one girl).
Five wearing Navajo blankets.
One wearing silver cut-out center concho belt.
Four boys wearing necklaces.
Most wearing cotton shirts and pants. Some already in dark suits (three).
The girl appears to be very light - perhaps mixed blood.
Three rings visible on one boy.

Smithsonian Institution Photo Number 54,624-A *Navajo students at Carlisle after arrival*

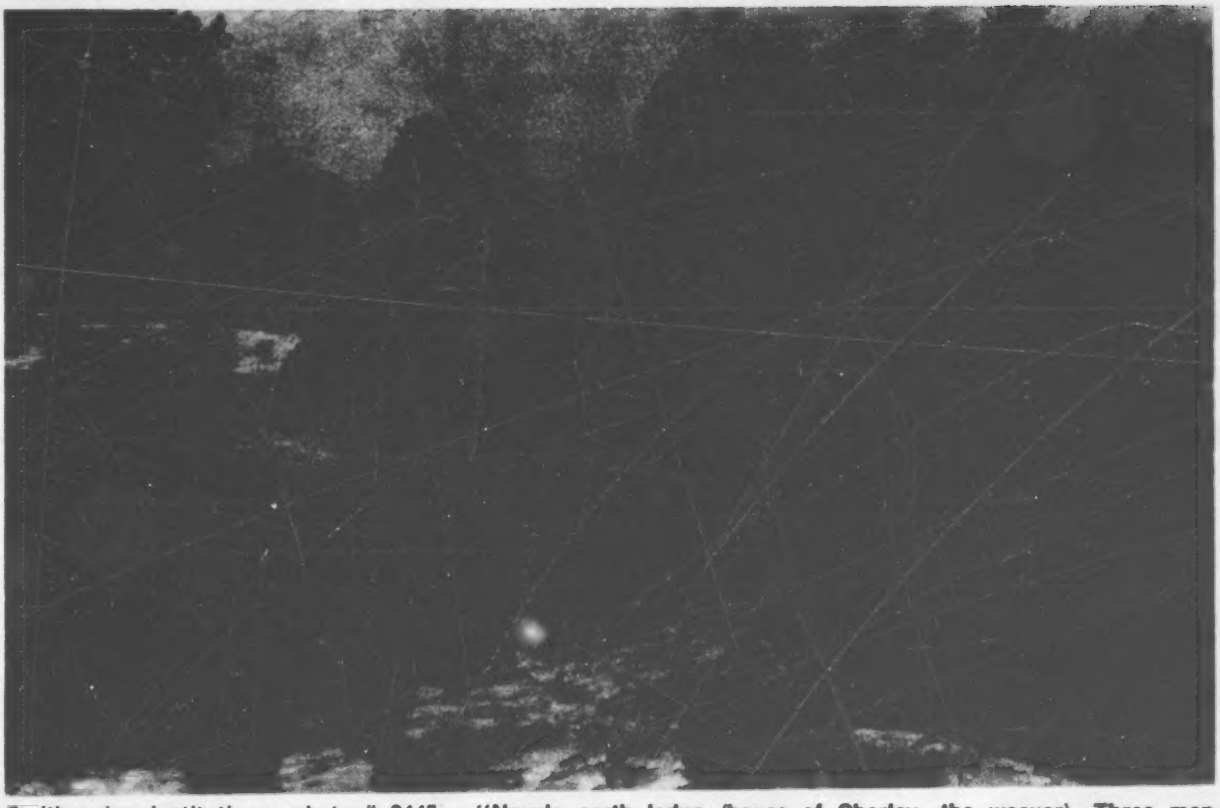
All wearing uniforms and the girl wearing one piece cotton dress.
No silver jewelry, no jewelry visible.
Only eleven in this picture while twelve in group of arriving Navajo.
Very hard to compare faces, in one picture, long hair with headband while in the other picture short and combed.

169

CHAPTER SEVEN

NAVAJO HOGANS

PHOTOGRAPHS



Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2445. **"Navajo earth lodge (house of Charley, the weaver). Three men standing outside; small flock of sheep or goats in background."** James Mooney, photographer. 1892-93.

Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2444. "An earth lodge or hogan, Navaho Reservation, Arizona-New Mexico." G. Wharton James, photographer. 1898(?).

Smithsonian Institution - photo # 46856-B. **"A shepherd leaving his hogan at dawn. Goats in foreground, sheep and horse in background."** Natalie Curtis, photographer; prior to 1907.

Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2450. **"A medicine hut and brush shelter. Navaho Reservation, Arizona-New Mexico."** Cosmos Mindeleff, photographer. July 1893-Sept.1894.

CHAPTER EIGHT

NAVAJOLAND

DISCUSSION

One of the intriguing mysteries is why the Navajo were sent to Fort Sumner. There appears to be no doubt but that General Carleton wished to remove all the Navajo from their traditional homeland and relocate them at distant Fort Sumner. Why is a much more difficult question to answer. The standard and usually accepted answer has been that the Navajo had to be removed physically from their own country and confined at a distant Fort or they would slip away into the canyons and mountains they knew so well to again raid the defenseless residents of the Rio Grande valley and elsewhere.

An examination of General Carleton's correspondence during the early part of the 1860's offers an interesting alternative possibility - GOLD.

The following quotations were found in the various reports of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs which contain much of the official correspondence of individuals such as General James H. Carleton.

Letter from Carleton dated February 1, 1863 to Brigadier General Lorenzo Thomas, Adjutant General U.S.A., Washington, D.C. [1]

> *The evidence of rich gold fields, and of veins of silver, and of inexhaustable mines of the richest copper . . . are of an undoubted character. It seems providential that the practical miners of California should have come here to assist in their discovery and development . . . I beg to ask authority to let, say, one-fourth of the command at a time have one month's furlough to work in the gold mines on their own account . . .*

Letter from Carleton dated May 10, 1863 to Major General Henry W. Halleck, General in Chief, Washington, D.C.[2]

> *. . . Among all my endeavors since my arrival here, there has been an effort to brush back the Indians, as you have seen from official correspondence, so that the people could get out of the valley of the Rio Grande, and not only possess themselves of the arable lands in other parts of the Territory, but, if the country contained veins and deposits of the precious metals that they might be found . . . There is no doubt in my mind that one of the richest gold countries in the world is along the affluents to the Gila, which enter it from the north along it's whole course.*

1. *Condition of the Indian Tribes, op cit.*, p. 105.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 110.

You will see by the enclosed notes what signs of mineral wealth are already discovered. If I only had one more good regiment of California infantry composed, as that infantry is, of practical miners I would place it in the Gila country. While it would exterminate the Indian, who are a scourge to New Mexico, it would protect people who might wish to go there to open up the country, and would virtually be a military colony when the war ended, whose interests would lead the officers and soldiers to remain in the new El Dorado.

Letter of Carleton dated June 14, 1863 to Major-General Henry W. Halleck, General-in-Chief U.S.A., Washington, D.C.[1]

I enclose herewith for your perusal copies of two letters just received by Chief Justice Benedict from a kinsman who is a member of a prospecting party which left the Rio Grande, under the leadership of old Captain Walker of Rocky Mountain and California celebrity.

There is no doubt, from Benedict's character, that all he says of the mineral wealth of the region southwest of the San Francisco mountains is under rather than over the mark . . .

I trust amid all your cares and anxieties, you will have time to give this subject a thought. There is every evidence that a country as rich, if not richer in mineral wealth than California, extends from the Rio Grande northwestwardly . . . If I could have but one first-rate regiment more of infantry, I could brush the Indians away from all that part of it, east of the Colorado river.

Letter from Carleton dated June 22, 1863 to Captain Joseph Walker.[2]

. . . The people who will flock into the country, around the San Francisco mountains, will soon open farms and have stock enough for the mines.

I am just commencing active operations against the Navajos. I enclose an order which organizes the expedition. You see the new fort will be . . . about twenty eight miles southwest of Old Fort Defiance, and this will be the nearest point for your people to get supplies in case of accident . . . I send you a map of the country, so that you may know about where Fort Canby will be situated. I send you another map, on which you can trace your new gold fields.

If I can be of any service to yourself or party, it will afford me pleasure to help you. If I can help others to a fortune, it will afford me pleasure to help you. If I can help others to a fortune, it will afford me not quite as much happiness as finding one myself, it is true - but nearly as much. My luck has always been not to be at the right place at the right time for fortunes. . .

Letter from General Carleton, dated June 22, 1863 to Captain Nathaniel J. Pishon, First Cavalry California Volunteers, Fort Craig, New Mexico.[3]

Captain: I send you a map of New Mexico, on which I desire that you will trace your route to and from the new gold fields. . .

. . . I want each of your men to prospect and wash and I want you to report the exact time they severally work and the amount of gold each one obtains in return for his labor during that time. Much reliance will be placed upon these statistics. The people must not be deceived, nor be inveigled into that distant desert country without knowing well what they may expect to find.

If the country is as rich as represented - and of this I have no doubt - there will, on your return, be a revolution in matters here which no man now can even dream of. . .

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 113-114.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 115.
3. *Ibid.*

Letter from General Carleton dated Santa Fe, June 26, 1863 to General John A Clark, Surveyor General of New Mexico.[1]

. . . I have seen a gentleman named Groom . . . He is very anxious to return to the new gold fields . . . He is firmly of the opinion that he can guide the party to the point indicated in Mr. Benedict's letter as the one where most gold was found - by the route from Zuni.

Letter from General Carleton dated June 26, 1863 from Santa Fe to Colonel Edwin A. Rigg, Commanding at Fort Craig.[2]

. . . I shall seem expedient to go to the new gold fields viz Zuni. . .

Letter from General Carleton, Santa Fe August 2, 1863 to Brigadier General Lorenzo Thomas, Adjutant General of the Army, Washington, D.C.[3]

On the 21st of last June, I wrote you a letter, enclosing copies of several communications in relation to extraordinary discoveries of gold and silver in Arizona Territory, particularly at a point or region lying southwestwardly from the San Francisco mountains, west of Albuquerque, New Mexico. . .

There cannot be a doubt, from these and from other reliable sources, that all that is said of these discoveries is true.

As soon as the surveyor general, Clark, returns and makes an official report on the richness and extent of the new gold fields, it will be absolutely necessary to post troops in that section of the country; indeed the capitol of Arizona will be sure to be established there. . .

Letter from General Carleton, Santa Fe, New Mexico dated September 13, 1863 to Brigadier General Lorenzo Thomas, Adjutant General U.S.A., Washington, D.C.[4]

. . . Pray let serious attention be given to the subject of these new discoveries of gold. A new revolution in all that pertains to this country is on the eve of commencing, and the government should provide for approaching emergencies. The people will flock to the mines, and should be protected.

Providence has indeed blessed us. Now that we need money to pay the expenses of this terrible war, new mines of untold millions are found, and the gold lies here at our feet, to be had by the mere picking of it up! The country where it is found is no fancied Atlantis; is not seen in golden dreams; but it is a real, tangible El Dorado, that has gold that can be weighed by the steelyards - gold that does not vanish when the finder is awake. . .

Letter from Carleton, Santa Fe, New Mexico dated September 13, 1863 to Honorable Montgomery Blair, Postmaster General, Washington, D.C.[5]

. . . You will at once perceive that the capitol--as well as the population, of the new Territory of Arizona will be near that oasis upon the desert out of which rise the San Francisco mountains, and in and beside which are found these extraordinary deposits of gold. . .

There is no doubt but the reports of these immense deposits of gold are true. . .

1. *Ibid.*, p. 117
2. *Ibid.*, p. 118.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 122.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 135-136.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 136-137.

Letter from Carleton, Santa Fe, New Mexico dated September 20, 1863 to Brigadier General Lorenzo Thomas, Adjutant General, U.S.A., Washington, D.C.[1]

> *. . . That there is a large and rich mineral region between the San Francisco mountains and the Colorado River there can be no doubt.*
>
> *I am making preparations to establish a military post of two companies of infantry at or near the mines . . . The new government of Arizona, if it ever come, will be at the gold fields, not at the insignificant village of Tucson.*

Letter from Carleton, Santa Fe, New Mexico, dated September 20, 1863 to Honorable Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury, Washington, D.C.[2]

> *Knowing the great interest which you feel in all matters that will increase the propsperity of our country - and more particularly, at this time, in all matters that relate to its moneyed resources - I have ventured to write to you concerning the new gold fields recently discovered near the San Francisco mountains, on the 35th parallel, and between the Rio Grande and the Rio Colorado. . .*
>
> *To so eminent a stateman as yourself, it will be sure to occur that timely steps should be taken for the development and security of so rich a country.*

Letter from Carleton dated March 6, 1864 to Brigadier General Lorenzo Thomas, Adjutant General U.S.A., Washington, D.C.[3]

> *By the subjugation and colonization of the Navajo Tribe, we gain for civilization their whole country, which is much larger in extent than the state of Ohio, and, besides being by far the best pastoral region between the two oceans, is said to abound in precious as well as in the useful metals. . .*

Carleton's testimony before the J. R. Doolittle investigating Committee in July 3, 1865.[4]

> *. . . There is no doubt but that the northern portion of the country (The Old Navajo Homeland from which they were removed) is very rich in the precious metals, particularly in gold.*

A review of these letters certainly support the position that General Carleton was convinced there was gold and lots of it, in the land west of the Rio Grande and east of the Colorado river, concentrating in the San Francisco mountain area. That this land was inhabited by the Navajo is not as important as was the fact that they needed to be removed far from the area as possible. The Navajos were accused by the army and others of raiding into all of the territory surrounding their homeland so Carleton's objective was to move them away from the land in question so as to prevent raiding of the gold fields. The issue therefore does not become one of attempting to pin point the exact location of the gold fields and to determine which Indian Tribe lived in that location. The issue is one of realizing that Carleton felt there was gold on or near Navajo country and that the removal of the Navajos was necessary for the proper development of the gold. Without a doubt, the correspondence proves this contention!

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 139-140.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 140.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 163.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 325.

Chief of Engineers, in the National Archives - Photo # 77-WB-25. **"Camp Beauty, Canon de Chelle; walls 1,200 feet high, width of Canon at this point about one-fourth of a mile. This view shows the peculiar effect wrought by the action of floods. The artist of the expedition, Mr. Wyant of New York, made a study of this scene with the intention to point it as a characteristic canon view."** T.H. O'Sullivan, photographer; 1873.

Smithsonian Institution - photo # 89615. **"Salt Butte, Arizona Territory."** Photographer and date unknown.

PART II

NAVAJO PEOPLE

184

CHAPTER NINE

NAVAJO PEOPLE AS SEEN IN GOVERNMENT REPORTS

DISCUSSION

The photographs that are contained within Part II are photographs which have been divided into chapters entitled "Navajo Women," "Navajo Men," "Navajo Children" and "Navajo Groups." With regard to the chapters on "Navajo Groups" and "Navajo Women" in particular there have been arbitrary decisions made with regard to which chapter in which to place a photograph. Some photographs might have been placed in one of several chapters.

A careful examination of the photographs included in Part II reveal many things but there are a few themes or threads that seem to run through most of the photographs. The quiet dignity of the Navajo people certainly is evident and is almost everywhere reflected. The beauty and simplicity of Navajo dress and attire is also evident. While the clothes worn by most Navajo men in the photographs is more a reflection of cultural adaptation, it is true that the essence of even Navajo men's clothing, as shown in the photographs, reflects an eye for both simplicity and beauty. The distinguishing Navajo characteristics appear to be the high-top moccasins worn by the men and the Navajo hand-woven two-piece dress worn by the women. Anthropologists point out that women are slower in adapting and adopting to change than are men and even a cursory examination of the photographs will show women are seen more frequently in an attire that is traditional Navajo while men are seen in an attire a part of which is non-Navajo.

Another powerful element that flows through almost every photograph is the presence of Navajo jewelry which consists either of silver and/or shell, turquoise, and coral. Photographs show a form and style of jewelry that is still common and worn by most Navajos a hundred years later.

In comparing the photographs contained within Part II and contemporary photographs-one is impressed with the numerous elements and traits that have persisted over time in a relatively unchanged manner. Women's wrap-around moccasins, squash blossom necklaces, concho belts, heavy silver bracelets and rings, loop and ball type earrings, headbands, moccasin decorations, Navajo hairstyle, Navajo women's dress (Biil), woven sash belts, "jac'loo," men's moccasins, men's shoulder pouches, and so forth. This incomplete listing clearly demonstrates the perserverance and strength of Navajo cultural elements which were visible and important in the period covered by this book, 1860-1910, and are visible and important one hundred years later. The tenacity of these elements of Navajo culture is apparent.

This is not to say that there have not been changes in the dress and clothing of Navajo people. It is well known that the most common Navajo woman's dress today (1980) is not the two-piece handwoven dress (Biił) but rather the volumous skirt and velvetten blouse attire. Yet with this noticeable exception the clothing and attire of Navajos today, when dressed in their best is not all that different from the clothing and attire worn by the Navajo of a century ago.

Once again it is helpful to turn to the Annual Reports of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs in order to get a picture of the Navajo people as seen through the eyes of contemporary officials.

A Report from Nathaniel Pope, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Santa Fe to Francis A. Walker, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C. - 1872.[1]

> *During the past year the Indians of this agency have been as quiet, with some few exceptions, as could have been reasonably expected. The subsistence furnished them in October last was exhausted in January, and, in consequence, there was much suffering among the poorer classes. In view of this destitution, and to prevent raids upon the property of citizens, [which were becoming frequent,] I ventured to assume the responsibility, in April and July, of purchasing, in open market, a limited supply of subsistence, sufficient to relieve their urgent wants for the time, and on the 14th of September last contracts were made for a liberal supply of beef and corn.*
>
> *In May last a large quantity of seed-corn, wheat, and calabash-seed furnished, and planted, and the Indians have worked faithfully to raise large crops, but their efforts have been but partially successful, owing to the same causes that have operated against them heretofore, namely, the absence of water, the extremely dry weather, and the early and severe fall frosts. At the date of the report of the Navajo farmer, the propspect for fair crops was more favorable than it has been for many years past, but it is estimated that the corn and wheat that may be harvested will not last longer than the 1st of January next. Forsome time past I have been satisfied that the valley of the San Juan River, within the boundaries of the Navajo reservation, afforded better facilities for farming than any other portion of the reservation, and I have directed the agent to establish a sub-agency at a favorable point on that river, about ninety miles north of west from the present agency at Fort Defiance, where, it is believed, large crops can be raised next year. The Indians have not occupied this valley heretofore, for fear of war parties of Utes, who claim that country and are disposed to prevent the Navajoes from planting there, but this fear will be overcome by the presence of a detachment of troops in that vicinity.*
>
> *Upon repeated applications by the agent, authority was granted in May last to contract for 10,000 head of sheep to be furnished in lieu of a portion of the annuities issued annually, the delivery of which has given great satisfaction. These with the number already in their possession makes a total of about 130,000 sheep owned by these Indians. The increase of sheep is wonderful. It is estimated that a quantity will very nearly double its number every two years, and very little calculation is required to show that in a few years the Navajoes will be able to do without beef, and should the farming facilities in the San Juan Valley prove to be as reported, that the Department will be almost entirely relieved of the expense of furnishing subsistence. Aside from this, the possession of large herds of stock [in addition to sheep, they have about 10,000 head of horses and mules] will tend to keep them at home and peaceable, and the fear of losing their stock will be a strong inducement to keep the peace in future. It is economy to furnish these Indians liberally with sheep, and I would suggest that a portion of the funds for the purchase of annuities be reserved annually and applied for this purpose. On the morning of the 11th of June last, Agent James H. Miller, of this agency, was killed by two Ute Indians on the San Juan River, about 100 miles from Fort Defiance. He had left Fort Defiance, accompanied by Mr. B. M. Thomas, the farmer, Mr. John Ayers, the trader, and Jesus Alviso, the interpreter, to look for*

1. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1872*, Washington 1872, pp. 296-297.

suitable farming-lands on the San Juan River, and while in camp asleep, on the morning of the 11th, the party was attacked by two Ute Indians, who fired into camp, killing Agent Miller instantly, and escaped with the horses, belonging to the party. Every effort has been and will be made to secure the two Utes who made this attack, and as they are well known, I think it is a question of time only. In the death of Agent Miller the Department has reason to sincerely regret the loss of an efficient officer, who was killed in the faithful performance of his duty.

The school at this agency has not been successful, principally on account of the difficulty in persuading the children to attend regularly, and comparatively in a very small proportion have attended school during the year. A boarding-school will be established at the sub-agency on the San Juan River, and an agency farm opened for its support, and, as the Indians desire to settle permanently in the vicinity of the sub-agency, it is hoped and believed this school will be a success in time by the exercise of proper care and attention.

In August last, during my visit to this agency, and upon authority granted by General O. O. Howard, United States Army, Special Indian Commissioner, subject to the approval of the honorable Commissioner of Indian Affairs, I directed the agent to organize a company of mounted police, to consist of one hundred picked Navajoes, [each of the thirteen bands to furnish its proportion of men,) and to place the war-chief Mamielito in charge of the company. The duties of this force are to guard the boundaries of the reservation, to arrest thieves and recover stolen stock for the agent. There was a great necessity for this action, to prevent the systematic stealing practiced by a portion of the tribe, and the result, I am convinced, will prove it. Up to this date about 60 head of stock, consisting of horses, mules, and a few burros, have been recovered by this police and delivered to the agent for the owners. As an additional necessary measure, I requested the commanding officer of this military district to establish a mounted patrol on the west side of the Rio Grande, for the purpose of watching the Navajo trails leading to the reservation, and pursuing and arresting suspicious parties of Indians who might be without a pass from the agent. During the past year over one hundred head of stock have been taken from thieves among the Navajoes by the chiefs, and deliverd to the owners through the agent. At the date of my last annual report the number of Indians at the agency was 8,234, and at the last count (made in September they numbered about 9,114 souls. The increase is mainly on account of the return of a large number who have been held in captivity by the Mexicans.

Mr. W. F. Hall, the newly appointed agent, reported to this office on the 2nd of September and assumed charge of the agency.

The Report from W. F. Hall, Agent for the Navajos, Fort Defiance, New Mexico, September 9, 1872.[1]

SIR: In accordance with the regulations of the Indian Office and instructions of the Hon. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, I have the honor to submit my annual report.

I arrived here and assumed charge of the agency September 7, 1872, relieving Mr. Thomas V. Keams, who had been recently appointed special agent, from the general charge of the agency. On my arrival here I found the Indians in a happy, contented, and prosperous condition. The Navajo Indians are probably as thrifty, well-behaved, industrious, and intelligent, and occasion as little trouble to the Government or the white settlers about them, as any tribe of Indians in the country. The only trouble or annoyance of any kind that arises from their presence in the Territory is that arising from occasional theft, and when the size of the tribe is considered, the comparatively small number of depredations that are committed, and, more than all, that in the great majority of cases they are driven to the deed by the stern necessity of hunger. I think

1. *Report, 1872, op. cit.*, pp. 302-303.

it will be found that the Indians of this reservation generally compare favorably, in good faith and allegiance to the Government, with the best-governed community of the whites; while the small number of thieves and evil-doers among them have better excuse for their actions than the larger number of our fellow-citizens who fill our jails and penitentiaries in the more civilized sections of the East.

***Organization of Navajo Cavalry**--During the month of August, Special Agent Keams, by authority of General O. O. Howard, special commissioner of Indian affairs, organized a force of one hundred and thirty Navajo cavalry, for the purpose of preventing depredations, as far as possible, and returning stolen stock to its owners when found upon the reservation. Though this force has been in service but a short time, it has proved conclusively in this brief period to be the best feature ever inaugurated in this direction. The custom of branding stock with the initials, or some other mark of ownership, by the holders of stock in this and the adjoining Territories, renders it an easy task to detect stolen animals brought upon the reservation. The members of the tribe selected for this service embrace nearly all the principal chiefs, who are proud of their position, and very energetic and determined in the discharge of their duties.*

The effect produced by the Navajo cavalry in seizing a stock from the thieves and returning it to its owners is most salutary, in proving their hearty and determined co-operation with the Government to prevent this wrong, while the moral influence exerted in discouraging a repetition by its almost certain detection will be, if possible, still more beneficial. I most earnestly recommend that the Government afford every facility for the more complete organization, equipment, maintenance, and reasonable compensation of these faithful, hard-working, and efficient men, in the firm belief that such a course will conduce to the best interests of the Government, the Indians, and the settlers of the surrounding country.

***Schools**--There have been perservering and persistent efforts made to educate the Indian children of this agency, but thus far with little success. I regard it as an object of the utmost importance to the Government and the Indians to educate the children of the latter, but with our present facilities it is impossible to make much headway.*

The children are bright, intelligent, and acquire almost anything they undertake in the way of learning very rapidly. The great difficulty to overcome is the irregularity in attendance under the present system, by which they lose all the benefit of what they learn at the outset. This difficulty I think, however, can be almost entirely sur-mounted by the establishment of an industrial school in connection with the daily instruction, provision being made for their shelter and subsistence in the meantime. There is little in their present surroundings to attach them to their studies or advancement in this respect. I take this view of the matter from the fact that I believe the coming generation will prove an important and valuable portion of the American people in this Territory, and if they learn no more than to speak, read, and write our language, a great stride will be made in their progress. They are industrious, skillful, willing and eager to work when they can get reasonable compensation for their labor, and would prove invaluable workmen in any manufacturing enterprise. There is no building on the reservation that is or can be made suitable for this purpose.

***Buildings**--I would respectfully and most earnestly recommend to the consideration of the Department the urgent necessity of entirely new buildings for the agency. In relation to all of them, I may say the roofs are falling in, the sides are giving way, the timbers are rotten, the doors and window-saches are unmanageable, and the general state of the buildings is entirely inadequate to their proper use. I would also suggest that an amount of furniture sufficient for the reasonable comfort of the agent and his family and the employes of the agency be furnished by the Government, as, in this locality, it is absolutely impossible to incure this expense from their private means. It is also considered but just and reasonable that the Government should furnish the agency, from the fact that almost any article of office or household furniture, or appliance of comfort that the agent or employes may provide from his or their private means, is rendered almost valueless by the ruinous cost of transportation; whereas if the*

Government furnishes the agency, as Government property, it will remain for a number of years. Under the most favorable circumstances the salary paid the agent is, in this Territory, but a meager one for the work performed and responsibility incurred, and I most urgently request that the foregoing requisition be allowed.

In conclusion, I will add that the expense for subsistence of the Indians on this reservation averages but little more than $12.50 for each Indian per annum, while they conduct themselves as well and occasion as little trouble to the Government as any tribe of the size in the country.

As special Agent Keams has embodied most of the statistical and other items of special interest and importance in his report, it is deemed unnecessary to add further to this my first report. . .

A part of the Report from W. F. M. Arny, United States Indian Agent, Navajo Indians, Santa Fe, New Mexico, October 19, 1875.[1]

Sir: I am submitting this my third annual report of the condition of the Navajo Indian agency, I am compelled to ask you to pardon its delay, which has been unavoidable, caused by the interference of the "whisky-sellers," at Cubero, Cibollito, Fort Wingate, and San Mateo; the squaw-men, who, when I took charge of this agency, I discharged because they were living with Navajo squaws, and were controlling, in consequence, the affairs of the agency, and who had previously forced the agents to submit to their dictations; and the want of co-operation and support from the military at Fort Wingate, the nearest military post to the Navajo Indian agency, which military post has been under the control of the officers of the Eighth Cavalry, United States Army, for the last year.

The foregoing adverse circumstances culminated in the driving from the agency, in the month of September, by some of the chiefs and Indians, my family and several of the white employes of the agency, and the threat that I would not be allowed to remain at the agency. The Indians also forbade the Navajo laborers to work any more at the agency; and when the laborers resisted, a portion of the chiefs drove them away and tied and whipped some of the Indian laborers, and thus broke up all the efforts to teach them to use the looms and other machinery which I had during the previous six months introduced at the agency, with the view of making the Indians self-sustaining.

Prof. V. Friese, school-teacher at the agency, left; and after he reached Bacon Springs, he forwarded to me his annual report of the condition of the school. Since the date of that report he died at Fort Wingate.

Miss H. W. Cook and Mrs. Cecelia Arny, who were engaged in the work of teaching and the children and women to labor, make their own clothes, and co-operated with the teacher in civilizing, educating, and making self-sustaining the Indians of the agency, were forced to leave the reservation, and the labor of several years was retarded, if not destroyed, by the machinations of bad white men and the inefficiency of the military at Fort Wingate.

Under the direct superintendence of Miss Cook, no machinist or carpenter who understood the work being obtainable in this country, three looms and other weaving-machinery were constructed and a fourth loom put in working order; all of which will hereafter be of great benefit to the Navajo Indians.

At the court of the second judicial district of New Mexico, which was held at Albuquerque during the last two weeks, efforts were made to indict two parties, native of England, (who, up to that court, were not naturalized citizens of the United States,) and others who are living with squaws in open adultery, and who have defied the agent and demoralized the Indians; but owing to the doubtful jurisdiction of the courts of New Mexico, it being uncertain whether the Navajo agency is in New Mexico or Arizona, and other adverse circumstances, I am informed that the grand jury failed to find

---

1. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1875*, Washington, 1875, pp. 330-331.

indictments. I would here respectfully suggest that Congress by requested to attach the whole Navajo reservation to the second judicial district of New Mexico for all judicial purposes, civil and criminal, under the laws of the United States.

I would also respectfully suggest that a law be passed making it a criminal offense for a white man to cohabit with an Indian squaw unless he is married to her under the laws of the United States, and that when married they shall no longer live on the reservation. This, in my judgment, would break up the fruitful source of trouble arising from the interference of squaw-men on the various Indian reservations. The retarding influences which prevent civilization, moral, religious, and physical training of the Navajo Indians, I regret to be compelled to say, arises from the want of the co-operation of the military in this country and the interference of the squaw-men.

On the 12th of December, 1874, I addressed a communication to you in reference to Navajo Indians which Major Price, of the Eighth Cavalry, United States Army, took without my knowledge to Colorado on a campaign against the Indians of the plains, and which Indians, on the route, took sheep from the flock of Florenzo Sandoval. In the same communication I also called attention to the demoralization of both the Indians and soldiers, arising from the fact that the Navajoes were allowed to visit at their pleasure the military reservation of Fort Wingate, and asked that the orders of June, 1870, on this subject be enforced, and that the Indians be required to leave the military post and return to their reservation and report to their agent. This communication was referred to the Hon. Secretary of War, and by him to General Sherman, and by the latter to General Pope, who indorsed on it, among other things, as follows, viz: 'I do not consider the statement of Mr. Army to constitute such a state of hostility as would excuse me in the eyes of the Indian Bureau for interfering with the business or pleasure of such Indians as the Navajoes.' The order of June 20, 1870, issued by General Pope, is as follows. 'Under no circumstances whatever will any Indian be permitted to enter any military post or station in this department.'

All I wanted was the enforcement of that order to prevent the evils specified in the letter of Dr. R. S. Vickery, the post surgeon, as follows.

Fort Wingate, N.Mex., April 3, 1872

Sir: I have the honor to report that, in consequence of the number of Navajo squaws being about the post, vernereal diseases have become of late much more frequent among the troops, so that half or more than half of the sickness among the men is of that character.

I therefore request that the commanding officer order all these women from the reservation; or should some of them be allowed to remain working for any one at the post, to let it be under such regulations as would insure their behaving themselves in this respect.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

R. S. Vickery,
Assistant Surgeon, United States Army

Not long after making this damaging report, Surgeon Vickery was relieved from duty at Fort Wingate, but his successor reported the same state of things, and the official report of the present surgeon, Dr. Lauderdale, confirms all that was said by Dr. Vickery. If, therefore, the facts as stated by me relative to the continued infamous debauchery of Indian women by United States soldiers, with the full knowledge of their officers, are questioned, reference to the official records of the Surgeon-General United States Army will entirely establish my statement.

During the two years last past I have asked that the Indians be ordered from that military reservation. My requests have been disregarded; and although, under date of

June 10, 1875, Colonel Gregg, commanding the district of New Mexico, renewed the order of General Pope, prefacing it as follows: 'The following general order is republished for the information of all concerned and will be strictly enforced,' in despite of the above, up to this date, drunken and debauched Indians are to be seen almost daily at that post, and squaw-men are allowed to send Indians with letters against the agent, and are encouraged to resist their agent.

On several occasions, when I asked for troops to protect the agency, they were refused, because, as the officer stated, there were scarcely sufficient troops to stand guard at Fort Wingate. And on other occasions they said, that troops could not be furnished without an order from headquarters.

The lives of my family and the employes at the agency were endangered and threatened by the Indians, who were excited thereto by the squaw-men. Application was made to the commanding officer at Fort Wingate and refused. My family and some of the employes were driven away from the agency without any protection from the military, and shortly after, Major Price, with his soldiers, took forcible possession of the agency, evidence of which has been forwarded to you in my letters of September 15, 24, and 25, 1875.

On one occasion an Indian robbed the trader's store at the agency. I asked aid from the military at Fort Wingate to arrest the Indian, and was refused. I then took my employes and arrested him, recovered most of the stolen property, and took the Indian to Fort Wingate, where he was placed in the guard-house, and in less than a week the guard allowed him to escape.

On another occasion a Navajo murdered a Mexican, and robbed him of $20. He was arrested and placed in the guard-house at Fort Wingage, and in a few days the guard allowed him to escape also.

Again, the agency butcher, S. Hanlon, shot an Indian. I applied for aid from Fort Wingate. The agency was surrounded by Indians, who were determined to hang Hanlon, and the lives of all the whites at the agency were imperiled. I detailed my men, employes, after I was refused aid from the military, and exerted my personal influence with the Indians and had him taken to Fort Wingate.

* * * * * * * * *

Either the Indians must be declared citizens, as proposed by the Hon. Mr. Shanks of Indiana, and thus be made amenable to the courts; or they must be placed under the full control of the agent and the military be compelled to aid him in fact, and not by Department and district headquarter orders, and the laws enforced; so that when a agent asks for protection and power to compel the Indians to stay on the reservation, it will be furnished to him, and not, as at present, several thousand Indians of this agency be allowed to be at the military post, and in the surrounding country, being demoralized by soldiers, whisky-sellers, and squaw-men.

After an experience of several years with these Indians, under all these adverse circumstances, I am still of the opinion that the Navajoes (with the exception of a few of the chiefs and their immediate attaches, who are associated with the whiskey-sellers and squaw-men) are good Indians, and would aid in every way to make themselves self-sustaining, if the agent was sustained by the military. I am also forced to the conclusion that no agent can accomplish anything with them til the reservation and its surroundings are made clear by the removal and punishment of the whisky-sellers and squaw-men; and until the order of General Pope is enforced, and all the Indians are compelled to go on their reservation and live there, especially Manuelito, Marianna, and Delgadito, who have never lived on the reservation, and who, at their will, are allowed to visit the Wingate military post, and the Mexican towns where whisky is furnished to them, the agent not having power to prevent it.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servent.

Letter from Alex G Irvine, United States Indian Agent, Navajo Indian Agency, Fort Defiance, Arizona dated September 1, 1877:[1]

Sir: I have the honor to submit the following report upon the condition of affairs at this agency during the past year, and in order to make it intelligent, will first look at the Navajos as a tribe, their mode of living, customs, and habits.

The number of the tribe cannot be given with any certainty, and is estimated at from 12,000-to 15,000. There were present, at the distribution of annuity goods, 9,114; counted by Rev. Sheldon Jackson, of Denver, Colo., and First Lieut. Thomas Blair, who was detailed to witness the distribution, and I know it to be correct. Many were accounted for, and no doubt correctly, as being required to take care of the property left at home.

The Navajos are a pastoral people, and depend almost entirely upon their flocks of sheep and goats for their subsistence. The character of the country in which they live prevents them from being anything else. The nearest approach to a permanent house is what is known as the hogan. A frame is first built of pinion-poles, which is covered with sod and earth; an opening is left in the side for a door and immediately over the door is an opening to allow the smoke to escape; when the whole is finished it very much resembles a charcoal-pit, and serves for a house while living and a grave when dead. Those built for winter are much more substantial than the summer hogan, which is little more than a brush shelter.

Owing to the scarcity of water and grass it sometimes becomes necessary to move about from place to place; their families have no permanent abode, and build a shelter every night wherever they may happen to be. At all times the hardest part of the herding falls upon the children.

Corn and wheat are planted upon every available piece of land upon the whole reservation, and for many miles around it upon every side, but on the north, which adjoins the Ute Indian reservation, and peaches and melons are raised in considerable quantities in the Canyon de Chelly.

Wool is the principal article for sale and exchange, 200,000 pounds being sold by them this year. Next in order, come the Navajo blankets; large quantities find their way to Southern Utah in exchange for horses. The blankets are made by hand, and are close, rather hard, and for camping out and saddle have no superiors, and are to be found in use all over the Southwest. Next in order, come the sheep and goat skins of which large quantities are annually sold. The sheep industry I consider as of the most importance to the Navajos, and should be encouraged by all means, and the possession of horses discouraged; and if I were to make any recommendation at all upon the subject, it would be to allow no horses to be held by any Indian. In their hands they are a power of mischief, and no good ever comes of their possession of them. The horses are used for riding, not work. At first it might seem arbitrary, but it would cause the Indians to remain where they were placed and be under better control.

The farm at the agency is looking well; corn, oats, and barley all in good condition. However, corn will hardly ripen on account of the shortness of the season - snow as late as 30th of May. Navajo laborers eat the roasting-ears as soon as ready for use; if they are not allowed to make use of the vegetables they steal them. Three principal fields have been fenced in this season with adobes upon a stone foundation, making a fence or wall 7 feet in height and 18 inches in thickness, the whole labor performed by Indians.

Have the building going on, and will continue it until obliged to end it on account of the weather. It is a good school for Indians; by it they learn to build houses after a more approved manner than the hogan, and will here say that all the houses in New Mexico, with very few exceptions, are of adobe.

Educational matters are about in the same condition as last year; if any change, hardly as good a report can be made, and no prospect for any improvement in the

1. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1877*, Washington, 1877, pp. 158-159.

future unless an entire change is made. I would recommend that school-houses be built at different localities, and school-teachers, with their families, take up their permanent residence with the Indians. I would name the Chusca Valley, the Canyon de Chelly and the Chin-a-lu-Valley as the best points at present. A steam saw-mill having been procured for the use of the Agency, the great item of expense will be removed, that is, the cost of lumber, and school-houses and dwellings for the teachers can be built at a small cost.

Probably this is not the time, neither a suitable place, but it would be a good requirement if every employe in the Indian service residing among Indians had to be a married man, and to have his family with him.

The only recommendation I will make additional would be to remove the agency from Fort Defiance to some point on the San Juan River, where there is land enough, if used, to raise all the corn, wheat, and vegetables for twice the number of Indians in the tribe. The reasons it is not used were given in full in last year's report; but I understand that it is contemplated to remove the military post now at Fort Garland to a point on the San Juan or Animas River, where they will have perfect control of the Jicarilla Apaches, Utes, and Navajos, and afford the protection to the Navajos which they require. One Indian agent having lost his life while examining the San Juan Valley is probably the reason it has never received the attention which it deserves; it is simply a question of extension of the reservation or protection on the northern boundary. I notice in the report for 1873 the cost is estimated at $57,500; if managed properly, and Indian labor used, payment made to them in goods, $10,000 will cover all material and transportation. The Denver and Rio Grande Railway completed to Fort Garland, 150 miles would be saved in hauling annuity goods to the agency, if removed to the place proposed. The Navajo treaty expires with 1878, and it is absolutely necessary to place these people upon an independent footing, as a matter of economy to the Government and to save further annuities.

Buildings at the agency are very old; the sand has drifted up against many of the buildings 1 and 2 feet higher outside than the floor inside, making the rooms damp and unhealthy to live in, and will shortly have to be abandoned. The water-supply for the agency is obtained by running a ditch up the Canyon Bonito one-half mile, and carrying the water up over sand-bars and cuts, the floods carrying the dam at the entrance of the canyon away, leaving a cut about 20 feet; annually the work required to procure water is becoming greater.

Whiskey is sold to the Navajos in large quantities at all the settlements around the reservation. The United States statutes should be amended so as to punish any one who sells whiskey to Indians, either on or off the reservation.

The only unpleasantness or difficulty during the past year was on account of the change in the manner of issue of supplies, commenced January 1, 1877, when all refused to give their names, number of families, etc., when I stopped the issue to all who refused to comply, obtained a guard of ten men from Fort Wingate, and placed them over the Government stores. When they saw that I was determined, all the Navajos, with the exception of a few chiefs, submitted. I am having the same difficulty at the present time, enrolling for census required under act of March 3, 1877. A correct census has never been made; the nearest attempt was made by the agent in 1874, when he succeeded in enrolling 1,600 families, when the Navajos drove the agent, his family, and nearly all the employes from the reservation. The opposition comes from the council or chiefs, not from the Navajos. They are under the lead of Manuelito, who has been a disturber ever since the Navajos were placed upon the present reservation. The council is composed of 26 chiefs of headmen, and they consider every pound of supplies and all the annuities as under their control and for their personal benefit. I have done much during the two years past to do away with that idea, but they are very tenacious and still hold out. I can very truly say that the 26 chiefs have given me all the trouble I have had at this agency, and they will do the same with any other agent.

Galen Eastman, United States Indian Agent for the Navajo Agency in his first annual report dated August 15, 1879 presents an interesting account of the manner in which Navajo dressed at that time.[1]

> *In the matter of dress the Navajos are more than semi-civilized for most of the males wear pants and shirts made of woolen cloth and cotton goods, and the woman are for the most part dressed in skirts and waists of calico and woolen cloth, the latter of their own manufacture; also, both men and women knit stockings which they wear with moccasins on their feet. The thick hair of their heads protects that extremity, and it is usually tied in a knot behind, or held in place by a gay colored handkerchief tied around the head, a common practice among the males especially when riding on horseback, which both sexes do frequently, and both men and women ride astride. On dress-up occasions, the men wear leggins or pants elaborately trimmed with buckskin fringe and silver buttons and the women wrap their ankles in thick and even folds of nicely tanned goat and buckskin reaching from below their ankles to the knee. This custom is peculiar to the Navajo women, as I am informed. They are all, men and women, fond of wearing beads and other ornaments around their necks, and the males wear large silver rings in their ears, and the women wear them on their fingers. They all paint occasionally, and if they do practice these habits more and spread the paint on a trifle thicker than their white sisters do, and wear their rings and ornaments of different patterns, it is no fair reason why, in these respects, they should be classed as more 'uncivilized' than the whites who follow similar fashions. . .*

In the Commissioner of Indian Affairs Report for 1878, out of an identified population of 11,850, 15 males and 10 females wore "Citizens dress."[2] In those Annual Reports there was a Table entitled, "Table of statistics relating to population, education, etc., among Indians, by tribes and their respective agencies."

A rather complete account of the Navajo was written by C. E. Vandever who was Indian Agent at the Navajo Agency at Fort Defiance in 1890.[3]

Report of Navajo Agency.

Navajo Agency, N. Mex., August 22, 1890.

Sir: At the time of making my last annual report my experience among the Navajos was limited. I had then been among them as agent only a few months, and in the collection of facts and statistics had to rely more or less on the information which I received from the Indians themselves. During the past year I have spent much of my time in visiting every portion of the reservation. It has been my endeavor to study the tribe thoroughly by learning all I could of their past history, traditions, and habits and customs. In doing this I have found it necessary to change my opinions expressed on several points a year ago, as will be seen by a comparison of the reports.

The Navajos call themselves "Tin-neh," meaning "The people," and are the most flourishing and promising branch of the vigorous Athapascan stock, which exists in widely separated tribal communities upon the Pacific Slope from Alaska to Mexico. . .

A primitive social state still obtains among them. Descent is still traced only through the mother; they still reckon remote collateral kin as relatives, which in civilization have long ceased to be recognized, and the children belong exclusively to the mother's gens or clan. Of these gentes there are still 37 extant, some of them very small, others containing 700 or 800 persons, the terms by which they are distinguished being names of localities, chiefly of waters and mythic places. One of them is known as the clan of the High-House people, probably because they once occupied the abondoned houses of the ancient cliff dwellers; one is called after the Utes, being the descendants of women captured from that tribe; one after the village Indians of the Rio Grande, and another

1. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1879*, Washington, 1879, p. 117.
2. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1878*, Washington 1878, p. 290.
3. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1890, op. cit.*, pp. 158-165.

after the Zuni, these two being descended from bands of these people who came to the Navajos during a period of famine in their villages. Perhaps the most vigorous clan of the tribe is called the Mexican, and is said to be descended from a young Mexican woman captured near Albuquerque about two hundred years ago. Most of these clans have a recognized principal man or chief, but neither hereditary nor elective; he is merely an apt, ambitious man, usually a good orator, who asserts himself in the discussion and conduct of affairs. Deference is shown to these chiefs and their advice is generally followed, but there is no real authority inherent in the position.

Their laws consist of taboos, religious observances, and ancient customs, but among the younger people they have happily lost much of their former consequence, although, as a rule, the old ways are still adhered to. Theoretcially they have many punitory and retaliatory laws, but they are now seldom enforced. The habitual deference of the younger to the elder is the effectual principle governing their crude social condition.

Inheritance, like ancestry, lies through the woman's side, but this general law has several interesting modifications; in brief, heirship and distribution of property may thus be stated. A mother's heirs are her children. Her sheep are divided among her daughters and her horses and ornaments among her sons. When a daughter dies her property goes to her mother, or, if dead, to her mother's sister. The property of a deceased son goes to his brothers, that of the younger to the eldest, and vice versa; if he has no brothers, then to his mother's eldest brother or nearest of her male kin. The heirs of a married woman dying without childen are her brothers. It is quite common for a father who deems himself about to die, to divide his property thus. Half to his children and the other half among his brothers and mother's brothers. The eldest well-conducted mother's brother and sister control these distributions, and loose women are debarred from inheritance, and not unfrequently such property as she may possess is taken from a woman who leads an abandoned life, nor unfortunately can mortality be placed as a prominent virtue among the Navajos.

Polygamy is very general; a few men have four or five wives, numbers have three, but two may be said to be the polygamous custom. It is difficult to ascertain, but probably about a third of the male adults are polygamists. Girls are betrothed at a very early age, and some are married while yet mere children, but the marriageable age may be set at from twelve to fourteen. The typical marriage between two young persons is arranged by their families, the elder brother of the bride's mother setting the value of the presents which the bridegroom's people must give the bride's family, ranging from five to twenty horses. The bride's family also make return presents, but not, of course, to the same amount as those received. The wedding is a very interesting ceremony, and marriage gives the husband no control over the wife's property.

A taboo lies between the bride's mother and her son-in-law, and after the marriage night they must never look each other in the face again. Many other taboos are also observed. Their forests abound with wild turkeys, but they must never taste of them, nor of fish; nor handle or even look at them. Bears are numerous, but, unless in self-defence, they never kill one, nor will they even touch a dressed bear-skin, nor will they kill a snake. They deem it fatal to plant a tree, and they abominat swine-flesh as if they were devout Jews. The wood of the hunting corrals and coal must never be used as fuel, nor will they touch food that has been prepared on such a fire. The house where a person has died must never be entered again, and this has been a great hinderance to their adoption of civilized dwellings; but within the last two years the younger people are gradually overcoming this traditional dread. Among the social taboos, a man may not marry a woman of his own clan; nor after they have become grown may brother and sister touch each other, nor receive anything directly from each other's hands; nor may any person publicly tell his own name; and for all of these customs curious mythologic reasons are assigned.

Their mythology is very numerous and complex, and difficult to understand or explain. Their genesis myths tell of creation in the under world and an existence in four succeeding upward stages before emerging through a pit upon the surface now

inhabited. They have no conception of a universal or persiding God; their deities are not spiritual, but grossly material genii of localities, with limited attributes.

All their religious observances are either for the cure of disease or relief from sorcery, and their character is determined by the patient and his people, who bear all the expense attending them. Each shaman, priest, or medicine man, as they are indifferently termed, celebrates only with the particular songs and rites he has acquired after long training, and under no circumstances will he begin until after his ample fees have been paid. Singular ceremonies take place in a large hut, sometimes specially erected for the purpose, and in front of it at night, processions of masked and painted men, singing and dancing, and simple feats of "magic" occur in a large bough inclosure lit up with great bonfires. The deities are invoked not only to relieve the patient, but also any others present similarly afflicted, and rains, good grass for the flocks and game, and abundant harvests are always the subject of their song-prayers. These gatherings are also esteemed as occasions for sociable intercourse, amusement, and in the interludes between the ceremonies the orators and principal men discuss public matters freely. The shamans or medicine men as a rule concern themselves mainly with their songs, rites, and traditions, but they also at times voice their opinions of common affairs. Perhaps greater deference and regard is shown them than to any other of the principal men. Some of them are very conservative and bigoted, but as a class they are the most intelligent and best disposed men of the tribe.

The flocks are moved at least twice a year to obtain sufficient pasture and water, as in the summer many of the smaller springs dry up. The usual practice is to take the flocks up to the higher plateaus and mountains in the summer, grazing in the neighborhood of springs, or an occasional rain-pool, and moving down to the valleys and low, wooded mesas in winter, at which season, to a great extent, both sheep and shepherds depend upon the snow for water.

This shepherd's life prevents them from dwelling in large communities. Perhaps some desirable watering place may be occupied by as many as eight or ten families, but usually fewer than that number frequent the same locality, and it is rare to see more than three or four huts together. Some of the larger canons and watering places, with adjoining arable land, are occupied permanently; and although the springs and pasturage are generally regarded as common to the tribe, yet the arable places are distinctly held and recognized as family or individual property, and families cling to localities.

They have two distinct types of dwellings, the bough arbor for summer and the earth-covered hut for winter, the former for temporary occupancy in pleasant weather but the hut is regarded as the family home. It is a conical structure of tree trunks and limbs, covered with earth till it looks like an irregular, dome-shaped mound, the doorway always facing to the east. But in this rude structure every detail is traditionally prescribed, and it is dedicated with feast and song-prayers soon after being completed. There is no fixed size for a hut, but the average dimensions are about 7 feet high at the apex and 14 feet in diameter, and this uncouth dwelling may scarcely be called comfortable. At best it is merely weather-proof and habitable.

Weaving is entirely a woman's art with them, and they weave blankets, mantles, rugs and saddle-cloths in great variety, of native wool and of yarn bought from the traders, and they also weave girdles, garters, saddle-girths, and their own woolen gowns. Nearly all of these fabrics are really artistic, and are woven with the simplest appliances upon upright looms fastened to a rude support set near the hut, or to the limb of a convenient tree; entirely an outdoor industry, pursued through the summer months or during intervals of good weather at other seasons. They have also their own processes of dyeing, the materials used being ochers and pinon gum, roasted and pulverized and boiled with a species of sumach; they also use other shrubs, barks, indigo, and other vegetable substances, from which they obtain colors of black, red russet, blue, and yellow.

The older women still make cooking vessels. The younger women no longer practice this art, but they still produce many beautiful specimens of basketry.

196

Many of the men work in a rude way in iron and with greater dexterity in silver, fashioning bridle and personal ornaments, and all of them dress skins, make their own shoes, leggings, and their own articles of wearing apparel and horse trappings.

The woman cares for the hut, cooks, weaves, and looks after the children, who for the most part tend the flocks. The men plant the corn-fields and build the huts, but their principal care is the horse herd. . .

The general resources of the tribe are about as follows:

Horses, 250,000, at $15 each	*$3,750,000*
Mules, 600, at $25 each	*15,000*
Burros, 1,000 at $5 each	*5,000*
Sheep, 700,000 at $2 each	*1,400,000*
Goats, 200,000 at $1.50 each	*300,000*
Cattle, 6,000 at $15 each	*90,000*
Silver ornaments	*330,000*
Coral and turquoise	*50,000*
Wool, manufactured into fabrics, on hand	*15,000*
TOTAL	*$5,955,000*

I estimate their crops last year, from the best information obtainable as follows:

Wool . . . . . pounds	*2,070,000*
Corn . . . . . do	*1,665,000*
pumpkins . . . . . number	*1,000,000*
Water-melons . . . . . do	*1,000,000*
Squash . . . . . do	*1,000,000*
Pinon nuts . . . . . pounds	*197,000*
Wheat . . . . . bushels	*500*
Peaches . . . . . do	*8,000*
Potatoes . . . . . do	*200*
Rye . . . . . do	*100*

Their sales for the year were about as follows:

Sheep . . . . . number	*12,000*
Wool . . . . . pounds	*1,370,000*
Pelts . . . . . do	*291,000*
Value of blankets	*$24,000*
Pinon nuts . . . . . pounds	*117,000*
Corn . . . . . do	*1,110,000*

Raised or manufactured and retained for home use:

Wool . . . . . pounds	*700,000*
Corn . . . . . do	*555,000*
Pumpkins . . . . . number	*1,000,000*
Water-melons . . . . . do	*1,000,000*
Squashes . . . . . do	*1,000,000*
Value of blankets	*$15,000*
Peaches . . . . . bushels	*8,000*
Wheat . . . . . do	*500*
Potatoes . . . . . do	*200*
Rye . . . . . do	*100*

The sheep are sheared each spring and fall, the average clip per year being nearly 3 pounds to each fleece. . .

The only money they will accept in traffic is silver coin, which is natural enough, as with paper currency they could readily be deceived, while they are excellent judges of silver. However, in the last year they have been willing to accept paper. They melt from a third to a half of the coin they receive to make into silver ornaments, but for gold they have no appreciation. While they were poor they were content with copper and brass, but with the coming of the railway and better markets for their products, they grew rich, and these yellow metals became cheap and were discarded, and gold they reckon in the same category. Besides their first really valuable ornaments were of silver, obtained from the Mexicans, whose favorite decoration has always been silver and the Navajo ideal of splendor is the Mexican vaquero in gala attire, horse and rider heavily bedecked with silver. . . .

Although the Navajos may be said to be born to the saddle yet singularly enough they are poor horse-trainers, and are even extremely timid in handling them; hence the boys should be carefully instructed in this direction. Broadly speaking, the men own all the horses, and the women own all the sheep, but like the horse herds, the flocks are also handled very crudely, and pending their transition to a higher social state, both boys and girls, in the meanwhile, should be taught some improved practices in the breeding and care of their domestic animals. . .

The surging conflict lies here: that many of the inherited lands of the Navajo lie some distance beyond the established Navajo Reservation. They have roamed and lived in these surroundings from time immemorial, and it is almost a matter of impossibility to explain to them our scheme of restricted land-holding. No explanation can be made to them of the difference between an acre and a square mile, so far as possessory title lies. Wherever grass grows, there they think their sheep and horses ought to graze. The waters beyond the reservation at which they now live have been thus occupied for a score of generations. I have made every insistence and all preparatory arrangements possible to bring these families, their flocks, and herds back to the reservation, but, as every right-thinking man will admit, time must be allowed these people to undertake and complete a movement of such vital importance; otherwise great hardship will be wrought to these outlying families. Even if it should be determined to bring them back I believe the only satisfactory way in which it could be done would be by extending the reservation line south a sufficient distance to provide them all with land and water.

I wish to submit for your information a typical case of "Indian trouble," still unsettled. The Navajos well understand that the San Juan River marks the northern limit of their reservation, but upon its north side lies the scene of their principal myths and the adventures of their greatest heros, and is, in fact, their most famous, legendary hunting ground; hence it is difficult to prevent a small party from slipping across to kill a fat deer now and then. Last December, with this intent, a hunting party of four men, three women, and a boy went across about 20 miles north from the river, when one of the men killed a deer, and was riding back to their camp, leading a mule, upon which the carcass of the deer was packed. Another deer crossed in front of the hunter, and he left the mule; throwing down his blanket, he took after the deer, which he followed for some distance unsuccessfully. Returning to his mule, he found horse tracks, but no blanket, so he followed the tracks and soon overtook a party of cow-boys. He claimed his blanket, but they threatened or did actually shoot at him, and he retreated to the Navajo camp. On the following morning these same cow-boys, numbering six or more, rode into the Navajo camp, where some wordy brawling ensued, and as the cow-boys again drew their weapons the Navajo party retired, riding southward. They rode of course with their rifles across the saddle-bow, and one of their horses stumbled in the snow, which accidentally discharged the rifle of the Navajo rider, but without harm. This at once brought down the fire of the cow-boys, and one of the Navajo men was killed; the cow-boys rode off exulting, but the Navajos halted to carry off the dead body of their companion to cliffs, where they covered it with stones.

198

CHAPTER TEN
NAVAJO WOMEN

PHOTOGRAPHS

Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation - photo # 34855. **"Woman and child. Navajo Canyon de Chelly. Arizona."** T. H. O'Sullivan, photographer. 1873.

Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2391. **"Juanita, wife of Manuelito. A member of Navaho delegation to Washingtom, 1874."** Photographer unknown. Washington, D.C. 1874.

2-30

Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2394. **"Hedipa, a Navaho woman."** Blanket backdrop. John K. Hillers, photographer; ca. 1879 (?).

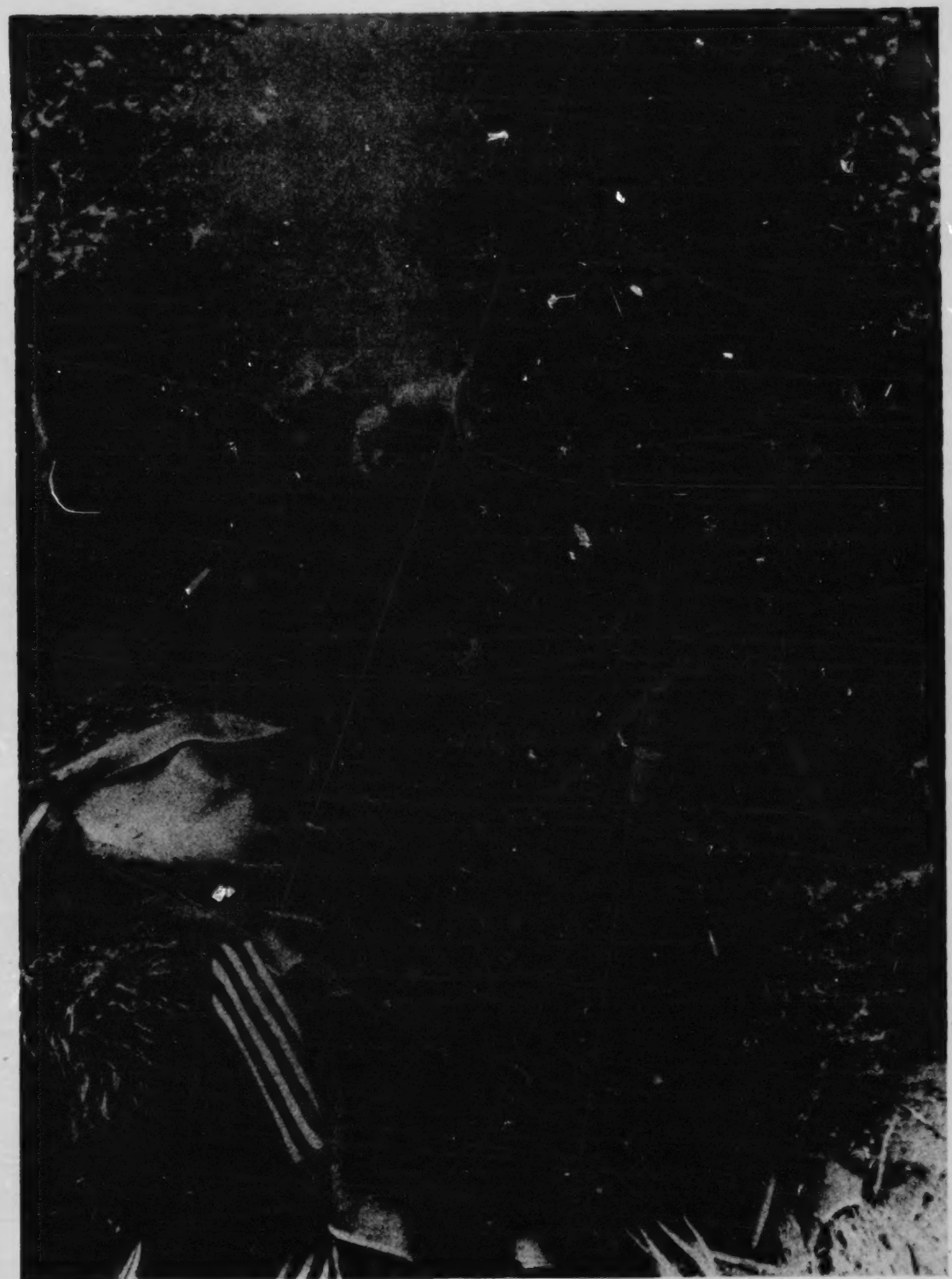
Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2421-A. **"A Navajo Woman. Blanket backdrop."** John K. Hillers, photographer; ca. 1879 (?).

Smithsonian Institution - photo # 55771. **"Minky Pinky, Belle of the Navajo Tribe. Wearing checked cotton blouse, figured cotton skirt with plain overskirt; blanket around shoulders ."** Photographer unknown; ca. 1860's-1870's (?).

Museum of New Mexico - photo # 15951. **"Old Washie, Navajo woman."** Ben Wittick, photographer. Date unknown.

Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2481-1. "Navaho girl, woman, and baby in cradleboard." Photographer probably A. Frank Randall; date 1880's. (?)

Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2481-F. **"Esta-yeshi, Navajo woman."** Photographer probably A. Frank Randall, 1880's.



Museum of New Mexico - photo # 15722. **"Navajo Anselina."** Ben Wittick, photographer; date unknown.

Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2481-H. **"Navajo woman with baby in cradleboard."** Photographer probably A. Frank Randall; 1880's.

Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2421-B-6. **"Woman with baby in wooden cradleboard strapped to her back. The baby is swaddled in cotton cloth and lashed to the board with buckskin thongs. The baby's head is protected with an arched wooden hood and a buckskin awning."** Photographer probably A. Frank Randall; ca. 1880-1890.

Museum of New Mexico - photo # 15946. **"Pachie, Navajo woman. 1885."** Ben Wittick, photographer.

Museum of New Mexico - photo # 15940. **"Navajo woman."** Ben Wittick, photographer; date unknown.

211

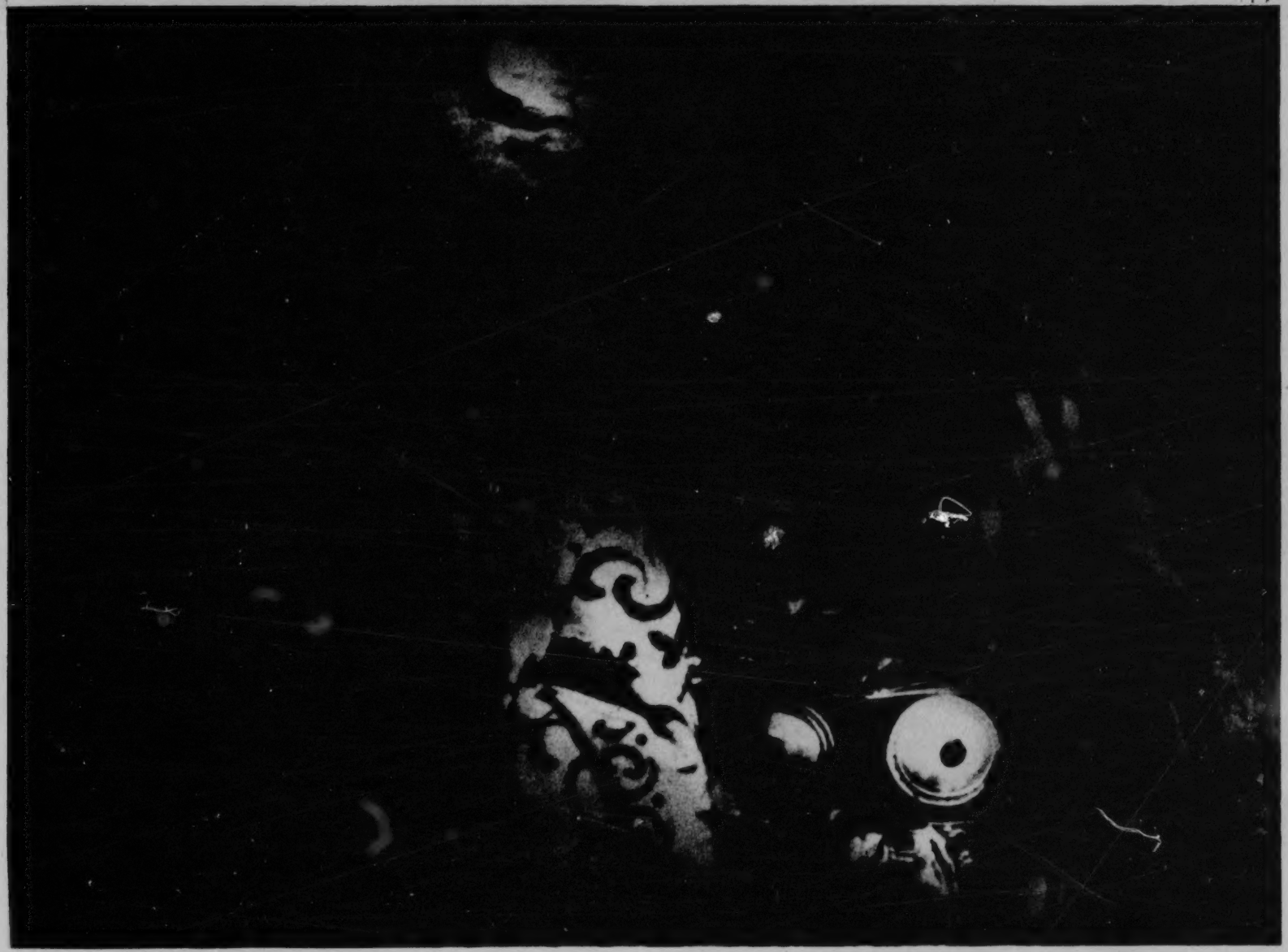
Arizona Historical Society - photo # 44,544. **"Daughter of Mariana, Navajo war chief."** Photographer and date unknown.

212

Museum of New Mexico - photo # 15945. **"Navajo woman."** Ben Wittick; date unknown.

213

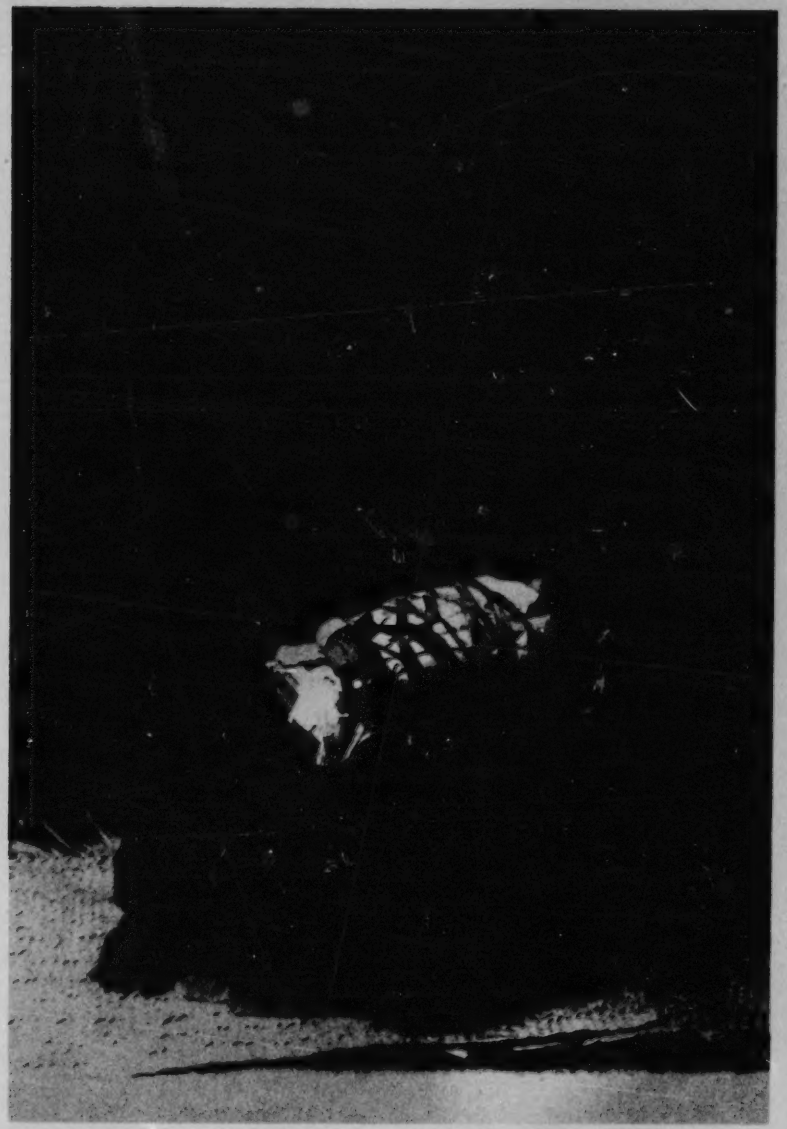
Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation - photo # 2430. **"Navajo Jose's squaw and papoose on horse. Chaco Canon, New Mexico."** George H. Pepper, photographer. 1897.



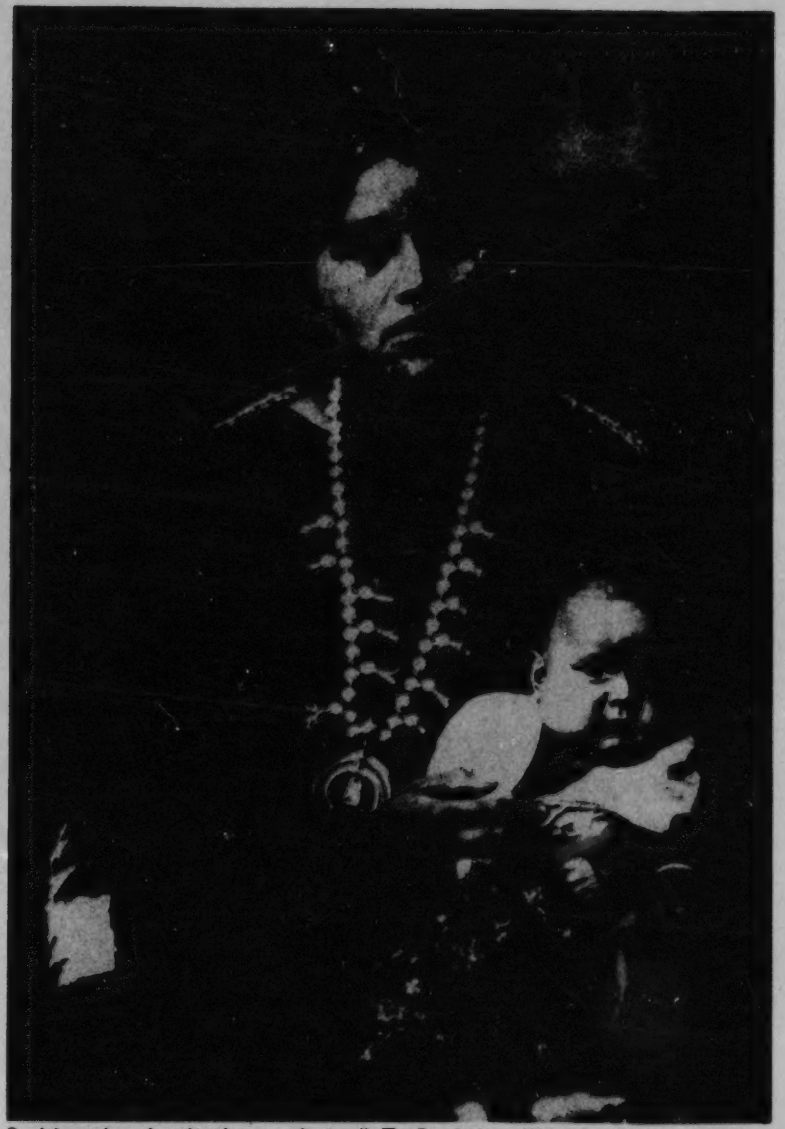
Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation - photo # 3765. **"Navajo woman and daughter. Chaco Canon, New Mexico."** Orchard, photographer. 1900.

Museum of New Mexico - photo # 37677. **"Navajo woman and baby, 1901."** Wm. H. Simpson, photographer.

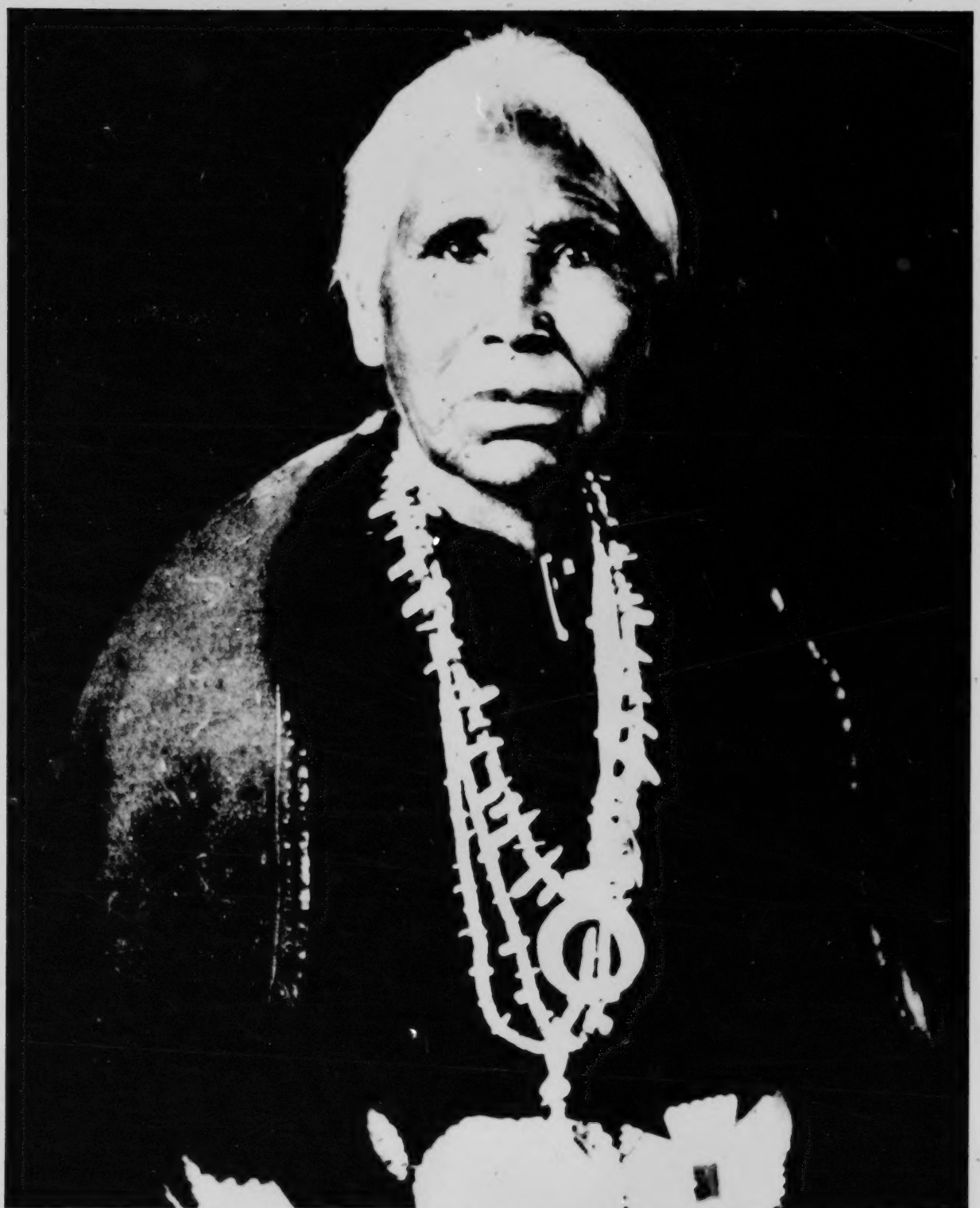
Smithsonian Institution - photo # T-15, 448. **"Woman with baby in cradle on her back. Probably taken at World's Fair, St. Louis, Missouri, 1904."** Photographer unknown.



Smithsonian Institution - photo # T-15-442. **"Mrs. Vicente Bigay with baby in cradle resting on her lap."** World's Fair, St. Louis, Missouri, 1904. Photographer unknown.



Smithsonian Institution - photo # T-15, 441. **"Unidentified mother and child. Navaho."** Photographer unknown. 1904.



Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation - photo #31710. **"Navajo grandmother. Navajo, Arizona."** Photographer unknown; ca. 1910

CHAPTER ELEVEN
NAVAJO MEN

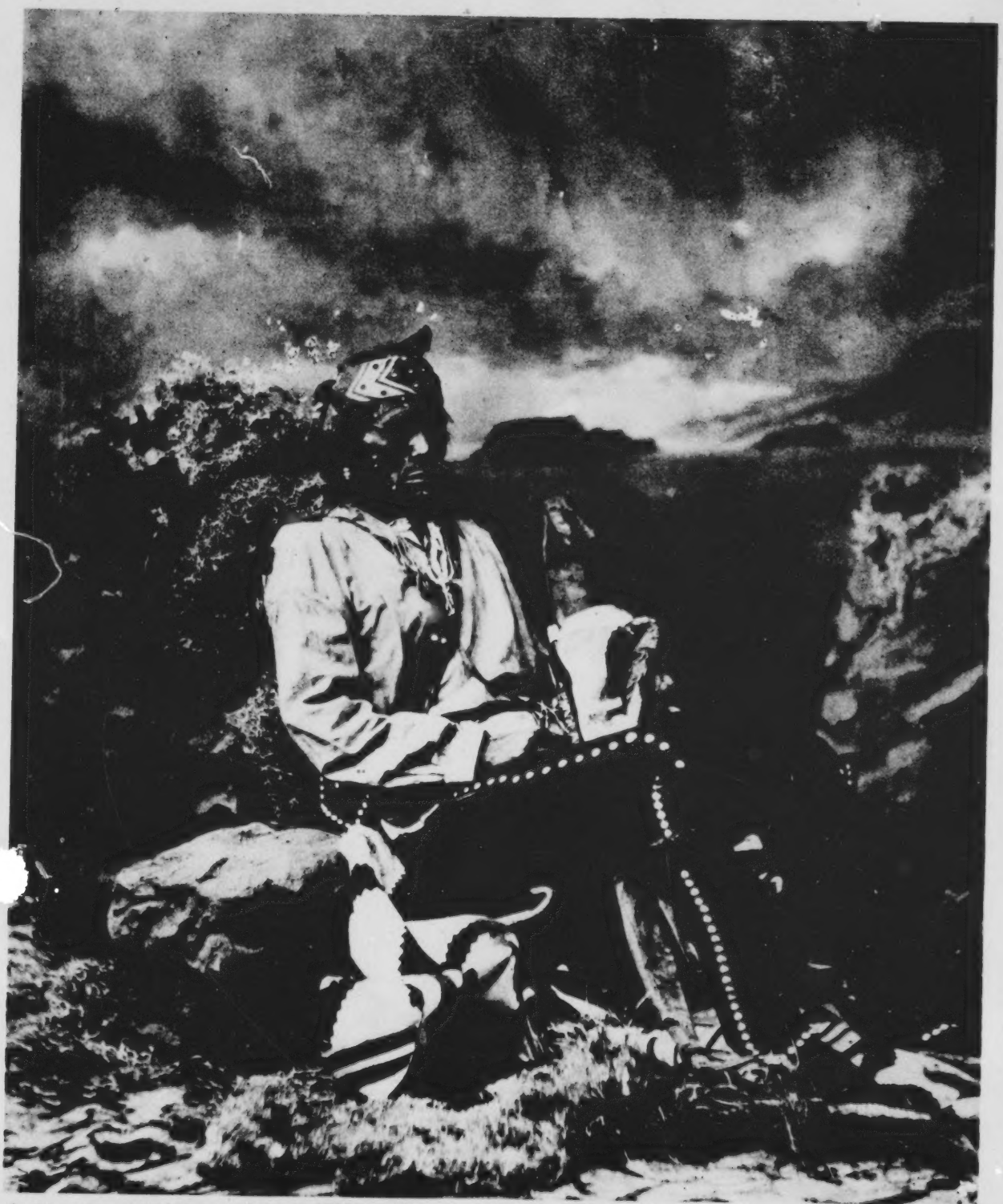
PHOTOGRAPHS

Arizona Historical Society - photo # 14947. **"Navajo brave captive at Bosque Redondo."** Photographer and date unknown.

Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2441. **"Barboncito or Little Beard. [Studio Portrait] Hold bow and arrows."** Photographer possibly A. Zeno Shindler, Washington, D.C. 1869.

Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation - photo # 35122. "Man in costume, Carnero Mucho, Navajo. (Appears same props as Navajo Delegation to Washington 1874). Photographer unknown.

Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation - photo # 37814. **"Manuelito in costume. War Chief of the Navajos, New Mexico.** (Appears same props as Navajo Delegation to Washington, D.C. 1874). Photographer unknown.



Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2393. **"Narbona Primero, a sub-chief. Navajo Delegation to Washington, D.C. 1874."** Photographer unknown.

Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2388. **"Ganado Mucho or Much Cattle, chief of a band. Navajo Delegation to Washington, D.C. 1874."** Photographer unknown.

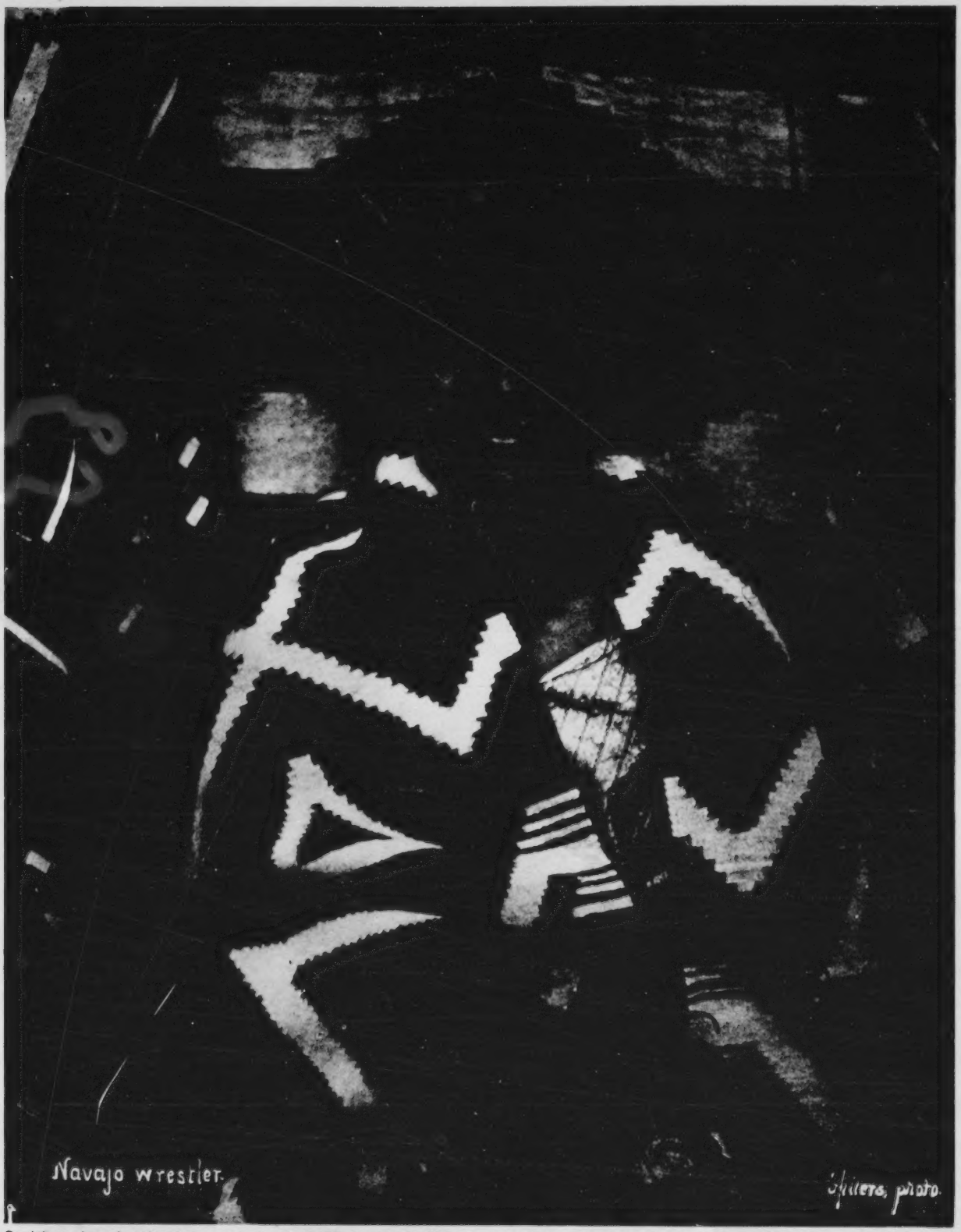
Smithsonian Institution - photo 2389. **"Cayatanita, a brother of Manuelito. Member of delegation to Washington, D.C."** Photographer unknown, 1874.

230

Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation - photo # 34826. **"Man, Manuelito Segundo, in costume. Navajo, New Mexico. 1874."** Photographer unknown.

Museum of New Mexico - photo 77787. **"Barbas Hueros (Light Beard). Navajo, 1874."** Charles M. Bell, photographer.

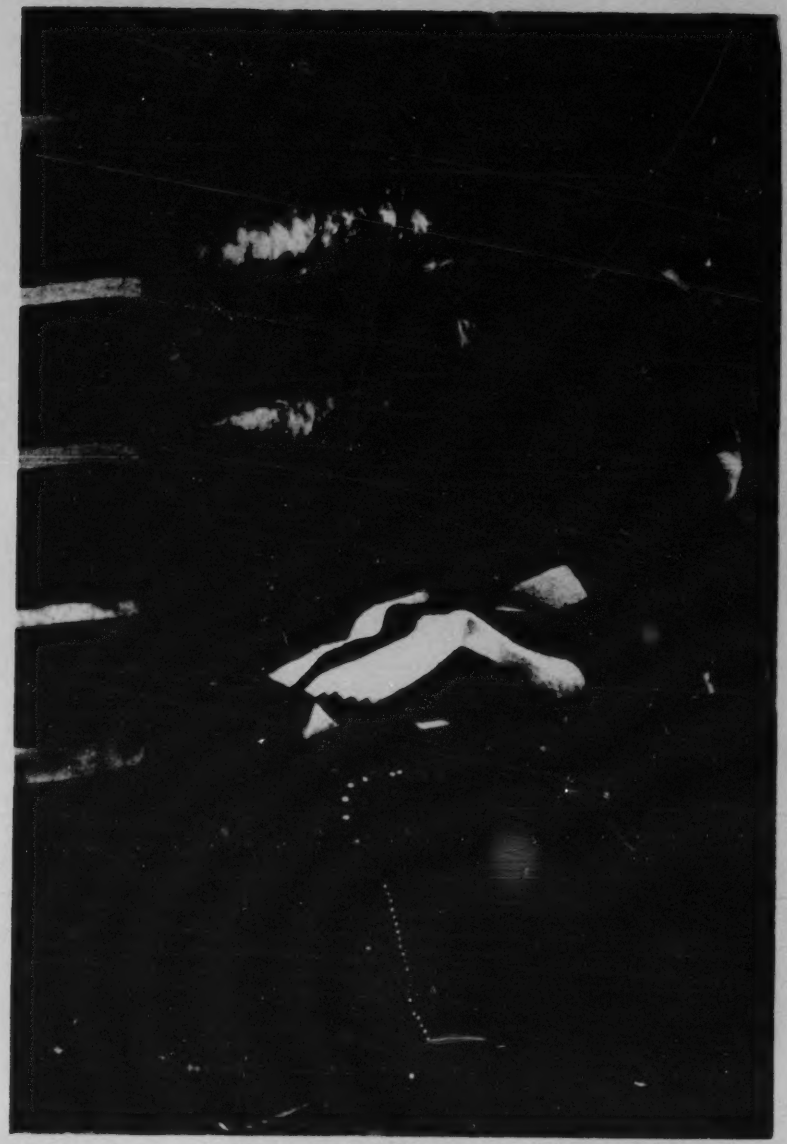
Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation - photo # 35121. **"Man in costume, Cabra-Negra. Navajo, 1874."** Photographer unknown.



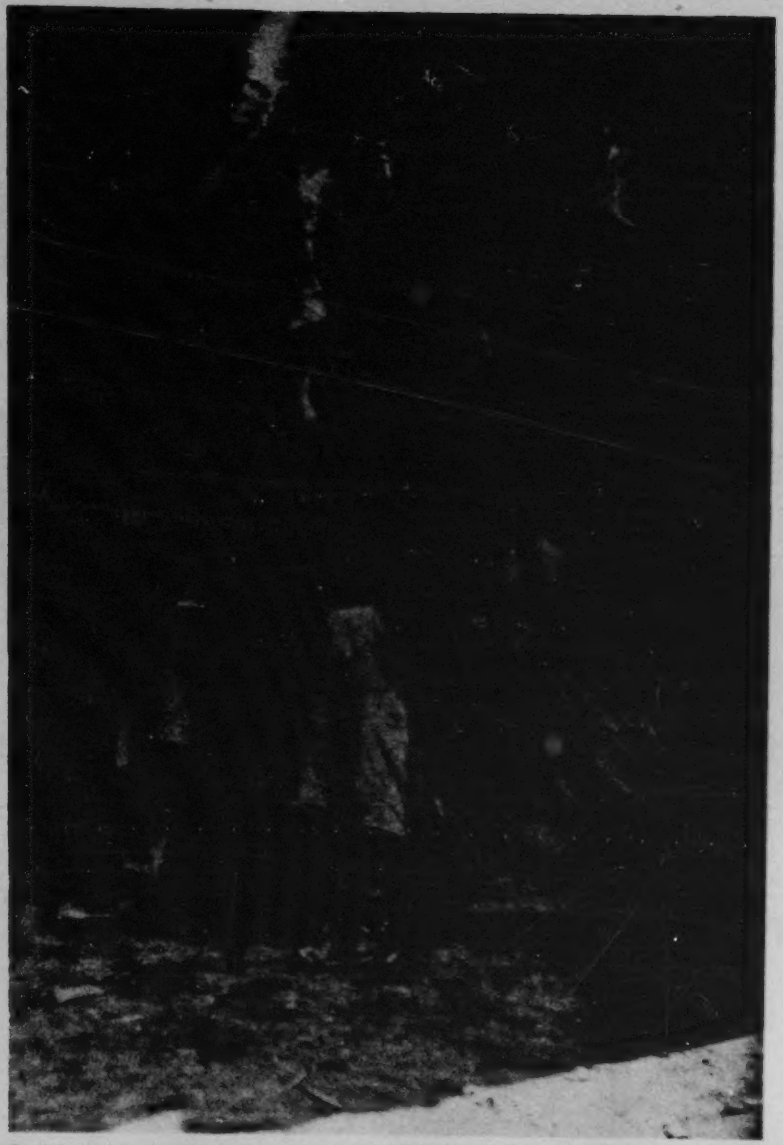
Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2422-A. **"A Navajo wrestler. Seated, holding bow, blanket backdrop."** John K. Hillers; ca. 1879?.

Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2423-A. **"A Navajo Shaman."** John K. Hillers. 1879 (?).

181



Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2410-A. **"An aged tribesman - seated in front of adobe wall covered with fur robe and blankets."** Photographer probably, John K. Hillers, 1879 or 1880's.



Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2387-A. **"Carero Mucho - seated in front of adobe wall covered with fur robe and blankets."** Photographer probably, John K. Hillers, 1879 or 1880's.

Museum of New Mexico - photo # 15948. **"Navajo, Juan the trader."** Date unknown. Ben Wittick, photographer.

Museum of New Mexico - photo # 15938. **"One of Guilfoyle's Navajo Scouts."** Date unknown. Ben Wittick, photographer.

Museum of New Mexico - photo # 15935. **"Navajo Scout."** Date unknown. Ben Wittick, photographer.

Museum of New Mexico - photo # 15950. **"Henry Chee Dodge, Navajo leader; ca. 1885."** Ben Wittick, photographer.

Arizona Historical Society - photo # 44,542. **"Navajo medicine man, Fort Wingate, New Mexico; ca. 1886."** Photographer unknown.

Smithsonian Institution - photo # 54741. **"Old Rain Gauge. Old Navajo man at Fort Defiance, Arizona."** F.D.G., Photographer. 1901.

Smithsonian Institution - photo # 54,742. **"Navajo man in native dress, Fort Defiance, Arizona."** Photographer unknown; ca. 1901 (?).

Smithsonian Institution - photo # 54625. **"Torlino, Navaho Chief."** Philadelphia photographer and date unknown.

Arizona Historical Society - photo # 50,129. **"Largo, Navajo Scout."** Photographer and date unknown.

Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2415-B-2. **"Peshlakai-lihini, the silversmith, seated outside earth lodge."** James Mooney, photographer. Winter 1892-93.

Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2458-G-1. **"Navajo man standing in front of wagon draped with blankets. Possibly taken at Keams Canyon."** Ca. 1892. Photographer unknown.

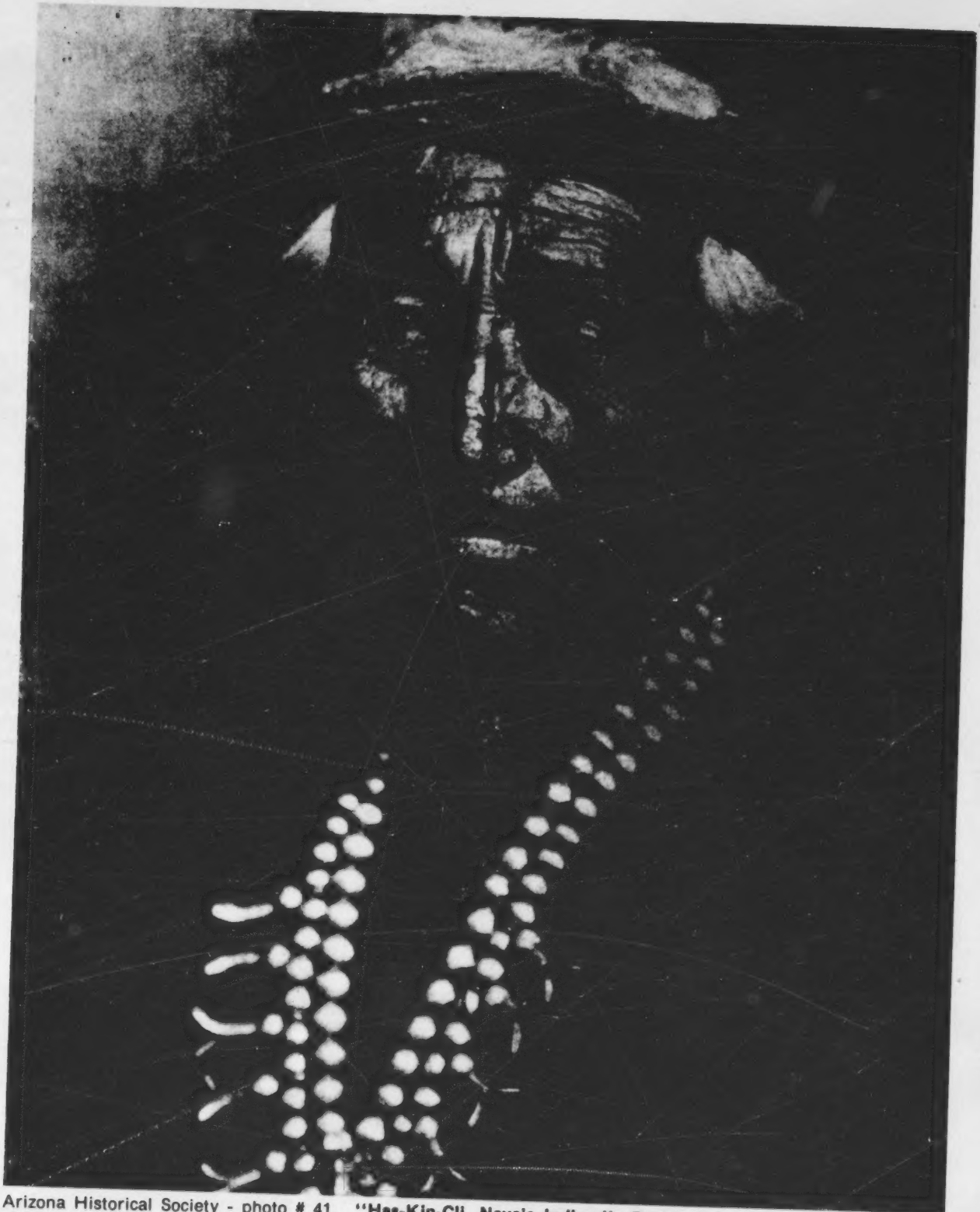
Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2415-A. **"Man in typical Navajo dress."** Photographer unknown; ca. 1890's.

Museum of New Mexico - photo 16017. **"Navajo Summer Camp."** Ben Wittick; date unknown.

U.S. Signal Corps, in the National Archives - photo # 111-SC-89603. **"Black Horse. Navajo Arizona Territory."** Photographer and date unknown.

Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2415-B-4. **"Charley the Weaver, typical Navajo man. Concho belt is characteristic of Navajo dress; silver wrist guard is ornamental but was worn originally to protect wrist from snap of bow string when using bow and arrow. The necklace is silver in squash blossom design; inner is bead, probably coral and shell. Winter house or hogan in background. Pottery vessels are Pueblo, not Navajo."** James Mooney, photographer; winter of 1892-93.

Smithsonian Institution - photo # 54626. **"Man holding a rifle. (Studio Portrait)."** Taken or collected by E. A. Mearns; ca. 1890's.



Arizona Historical Society - photo # 41. **"Has-Kin-Cli, Navajo Indian."** Photographer and date unknown.

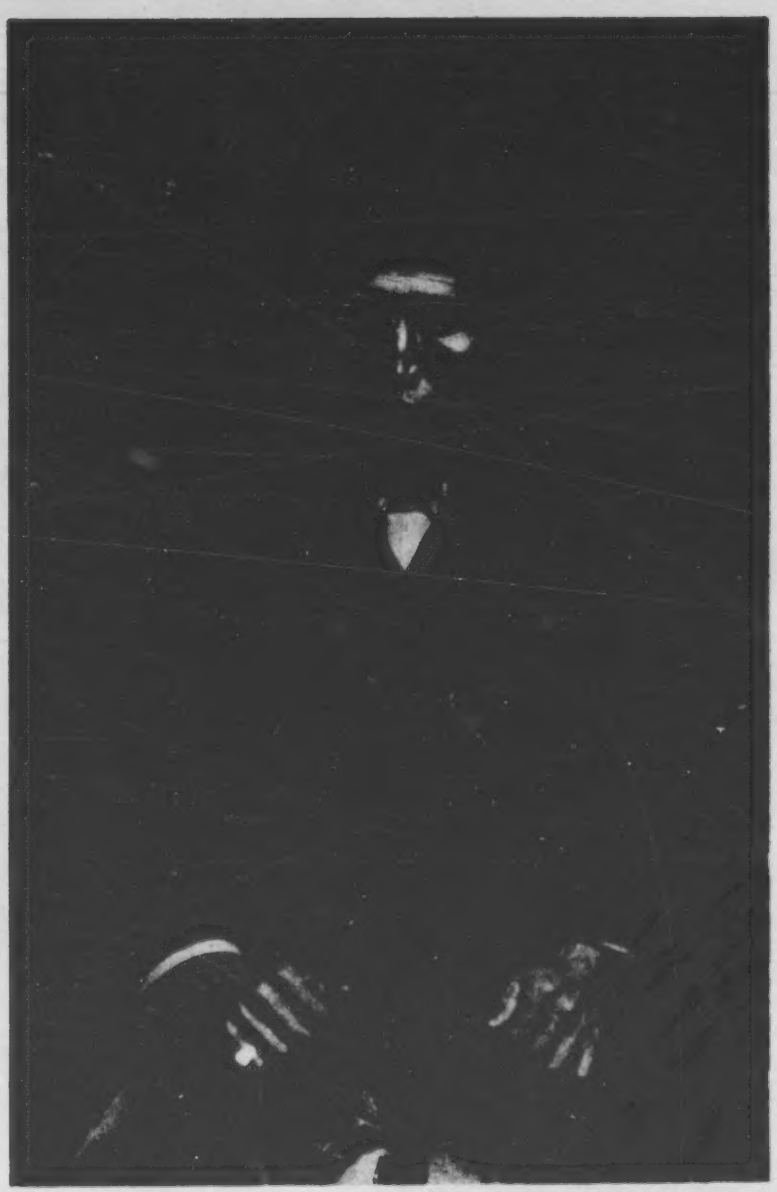
Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2399-B. **"Peshlakietsethy or White Silversmith. Born 1847. Home listed as Chesen dez ahdy."** DeLancey Gill, photographer, 1902.

Smithsonian Institution photo # 2400-A. **"She-she-nez. Born 1837. Home: Little Colorado River, northeast of Canyon Diablo, Arizona. 1902."** De Lancey Gill, photographer.

Smithsonian Institution - photo # 54638. **"Mode of wearing chief blanket by Navaho.** Photographer unknown. Probably 20th Century.

Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2401-B. **"Hostyn Pequoting. 1904."** T. W. Smillie, photographer.

Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation - photo # 31716. **"Portrait of a man, 'The Wolf,' showing headband and necklace. Navajo Arizona."** Photographer unknown.



Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2404-A. **"Pe-shi-ka-i-ci-ty, head chief."** T. W. Smillie, photographer. 1904.

Museum of the American Indian - photo # 31714. **"Portrait of a young Navajo boy showing headband, earrings and necklace. Navajo Arizona."** Photographer unknown. 1907.

Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation - photo # 31715. **"Portrait of a young man, Pedro Begay. Shows hoop earrings and necklace. Navajo Arizona."** Photographer unknown; ca. 1907.

199

263

254

Smithsonian Institution - photo #2397-A. **"Hosteen Belody. Born 1836. Home: Leupp, Navaho Reservation, Arizona. (Studio Portrait)."** De Lancey Gill, photographer. 1909.

Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2402. **"Hostin-nez, nesa councillor, from Navaho reservation, Arizona-New Mexico."** Photographer unknown. Prior to 1911.

Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation - photo # 31711. **Side View of Civente, Chief of the Navajos. Arizona; ca. 1914."** Photographer unknown.

CHAPTER TWELVE
NAVAJO CHILDREN

PHOTOGRAPHS

Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2413-C. **"Navaho boy [Studio Portrait], Washington, D.C. 1868."** A. Zeon Schindler, photographer.

Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2413-A. **"Navaho seated. Washington, D.C., 1868."** A Zeno Shindler, photographer.

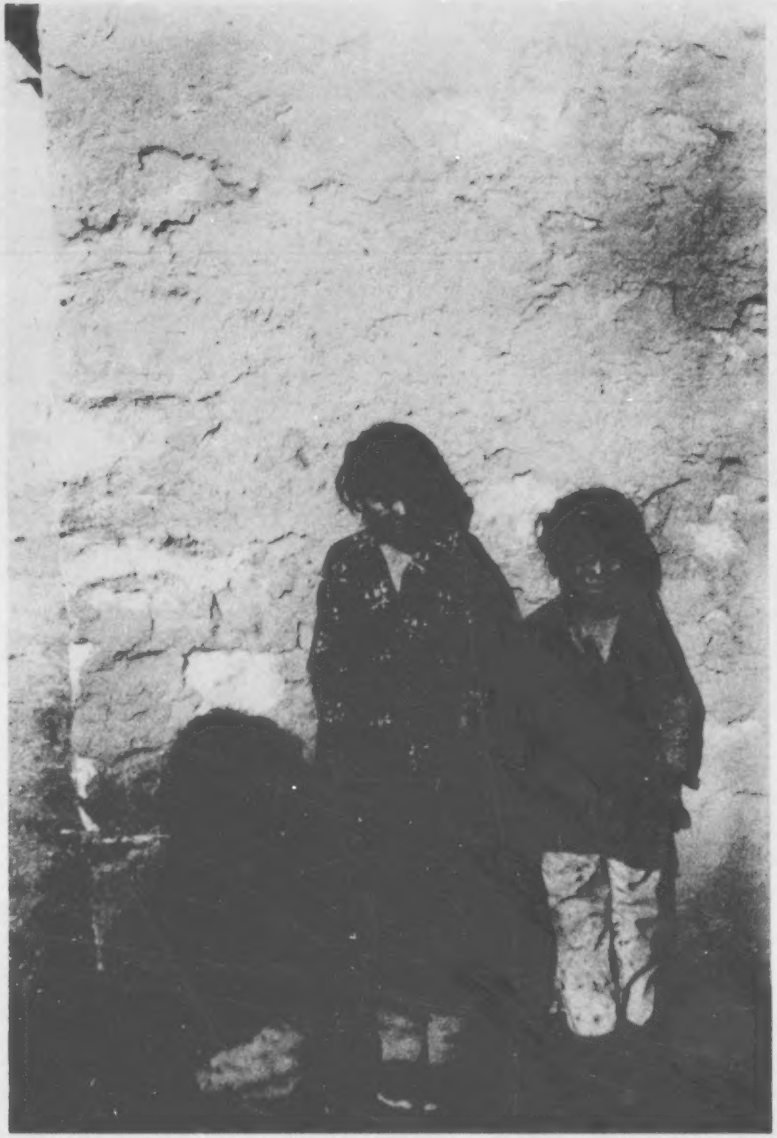
Museum of New Mexico - photo # 15944. **"Navajo boy."** Ben Wittick, photographer, Date unknown.

Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2416. **"A young tribesman - Navajo boy. Seated in front of adobe wall covered with fur robe and blankets."** Photographer probably John K. Hillers, 1879 or 1880's.

Museum of New Mexico - photo # 15937. **"Navajo boy."** Ben Wittick, photographer. Date unknown.

Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2396-B. **"Nadespa. Navajo Reservation, Arizona-New Mexico, 1892."** James Mooney, photographer.

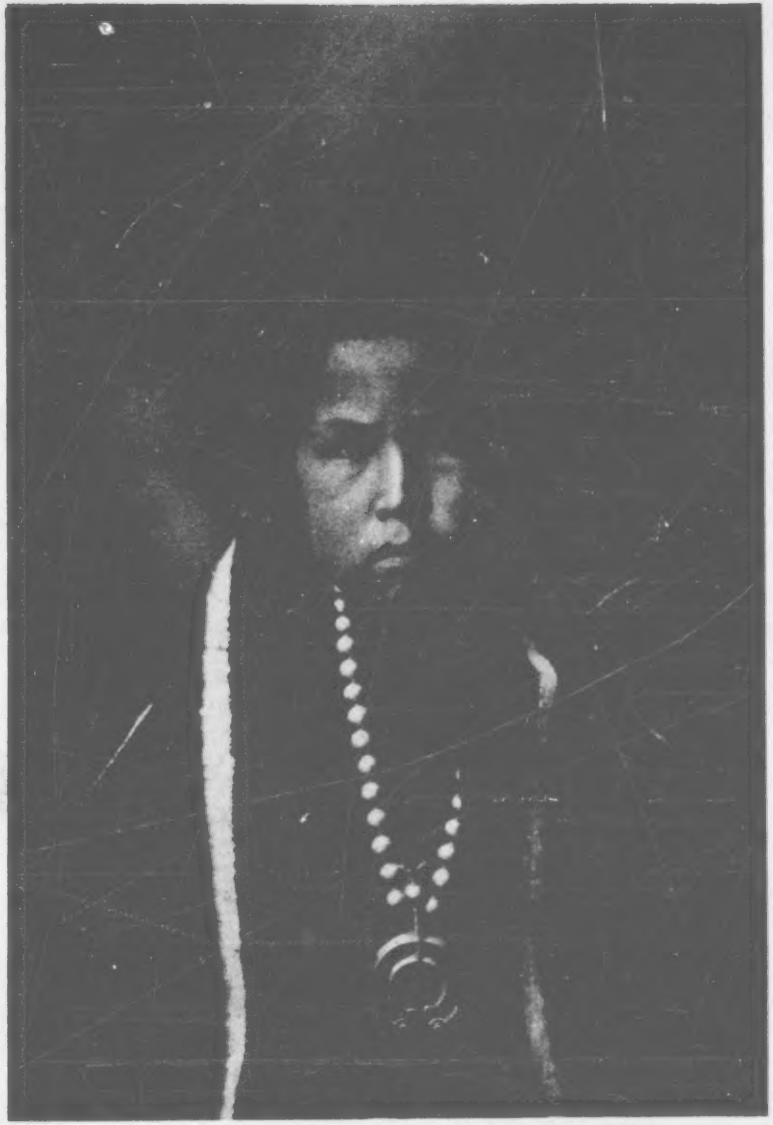
Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2481-B-7. **"Wife of Jake (silversmith) and her brother, Fort Wingate, New Mexico. 1892."** James Mooney, photographer. Winter 1892-93.



Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2406-B. **"Children of Pesh-lakai-ilhini', two boys and a girl in front of adobe wall. Navajo reservation, winter of 1892-93."** James Mooney, photographer.

Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2414-B. **"Unidentified boy, holding bow and arrow. Camp of Charlie, the weaver. Near Keams's Canyon, Arizona-New Mexico, winter of 1892-93."** James Mooney, photographer.

Smithsonian Institution - # 2411. **"Children of Pesh-lakai-lihini. Navajo reservation, winter of 1892-93."** James Mooney, photographer.



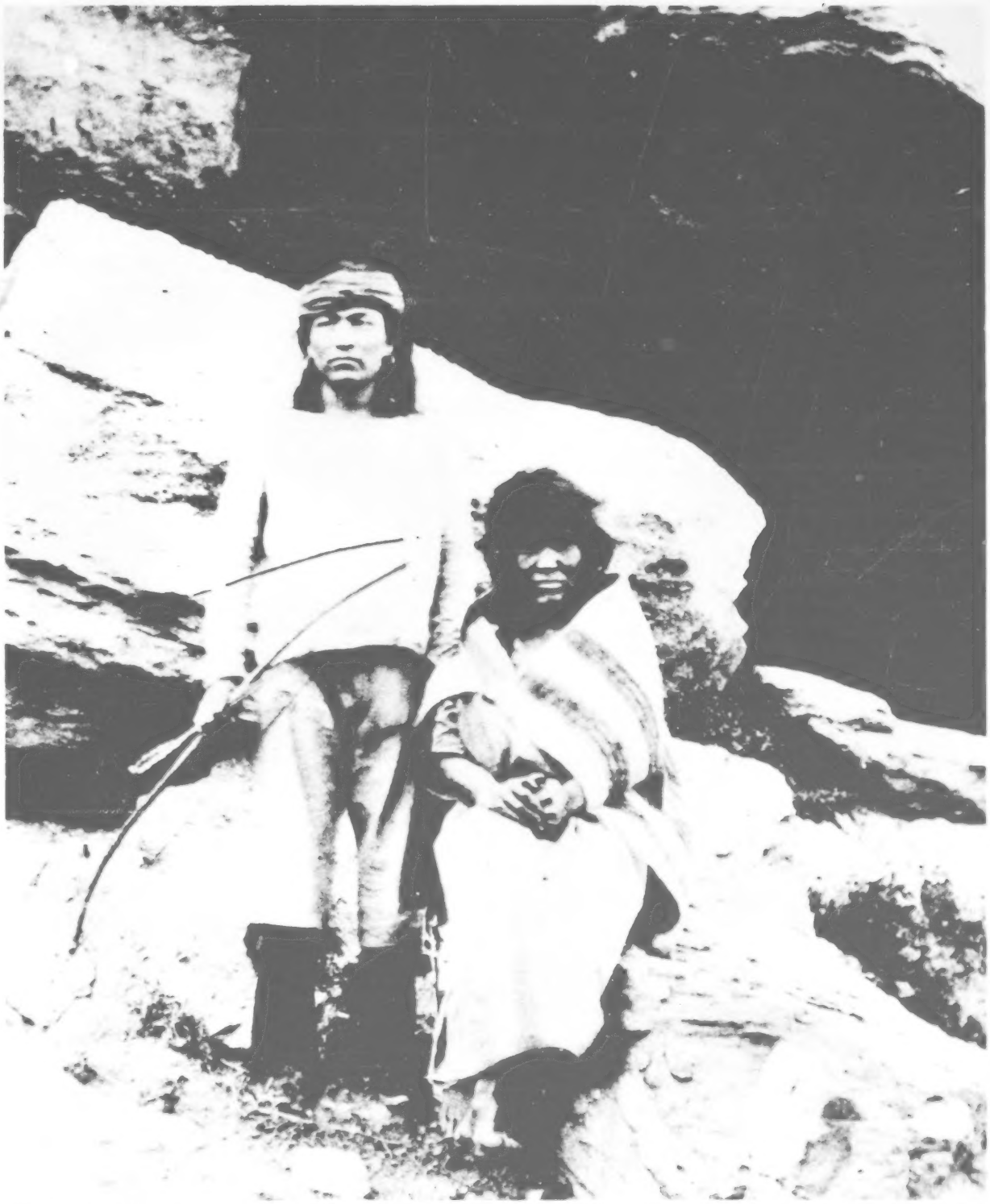
Smithsonian Institution - photo # T-15765. **"Ah-Zhi-Ne, young Navaho girl, wearing silver necklace and blanket. World's Fair, St. Louis, Mo. 1904."** Photographer unknown.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN
NAVAJO GROUPS

PHOTOGRAPHS

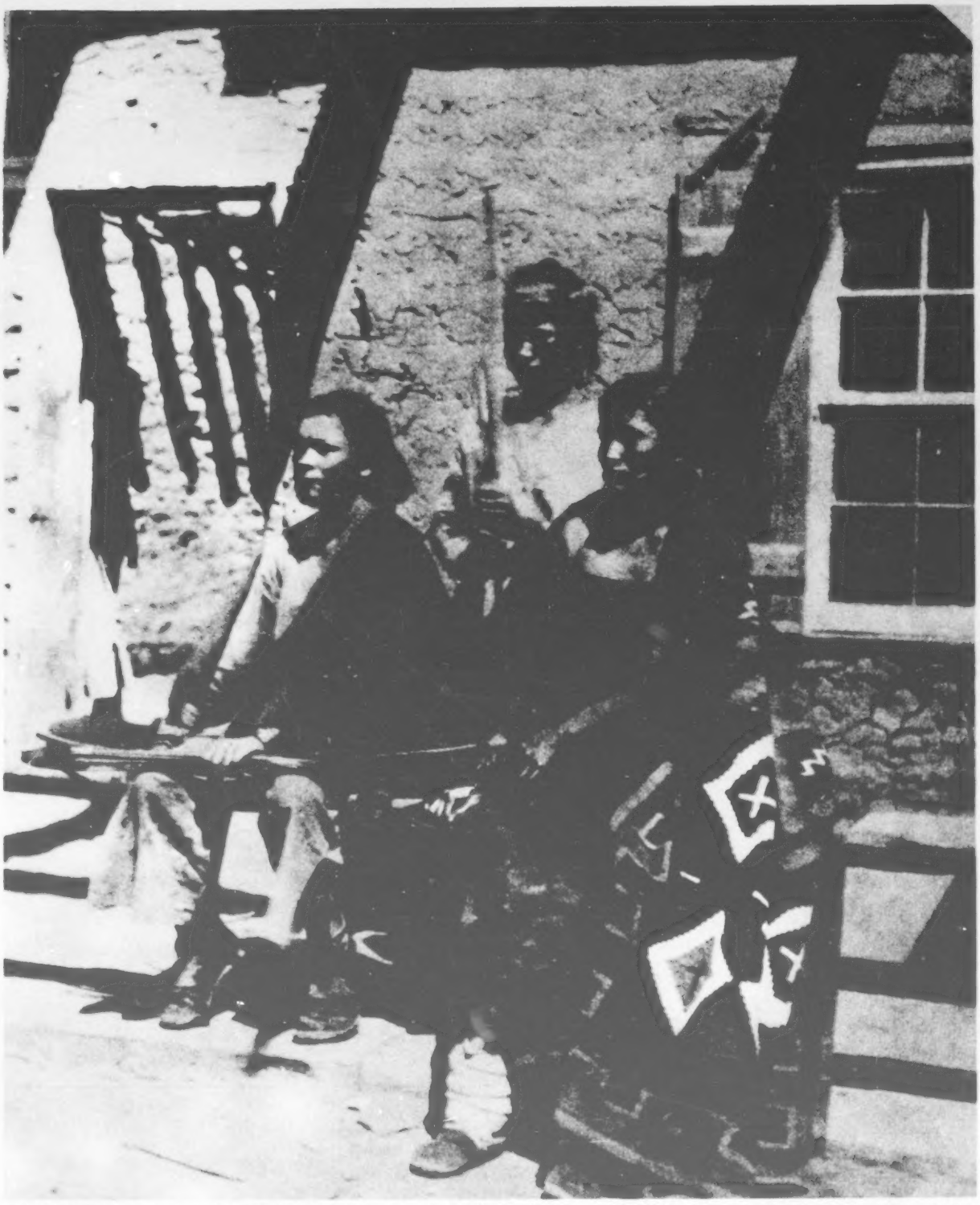
Smithsonian Institution - photo # 55769. **"Group of Three; original marked. 1. Chief Barboncito; 2. Chief's son; 3. Chief's wife. Seated man, identified as 'Chief Barboncito' on back of original, certainly does not resemble #55,766. He does seem to resemble the Navaho Chief Manuelito (cf. BAE negs. 2390, 2410-C note particularly the mouth), and the woman bears striking resemblance to Manuelito's wife, Juanita (BAE negs 2391, 2410-C). However, the standing figure looks too old to be their son, Manuelito Segundo, who was a young boy in 1874 (BAE negs 2391, 41-106-D)."** Photographer unknown. 1860's-1870's (?).

Chief of Engineers in the National Archives - photo # 77-WE-22. **"Navajo squaws and child, Canon de Chelle, New Mexico."** T. H. O'Sullivan, photographer. 1873 (?).

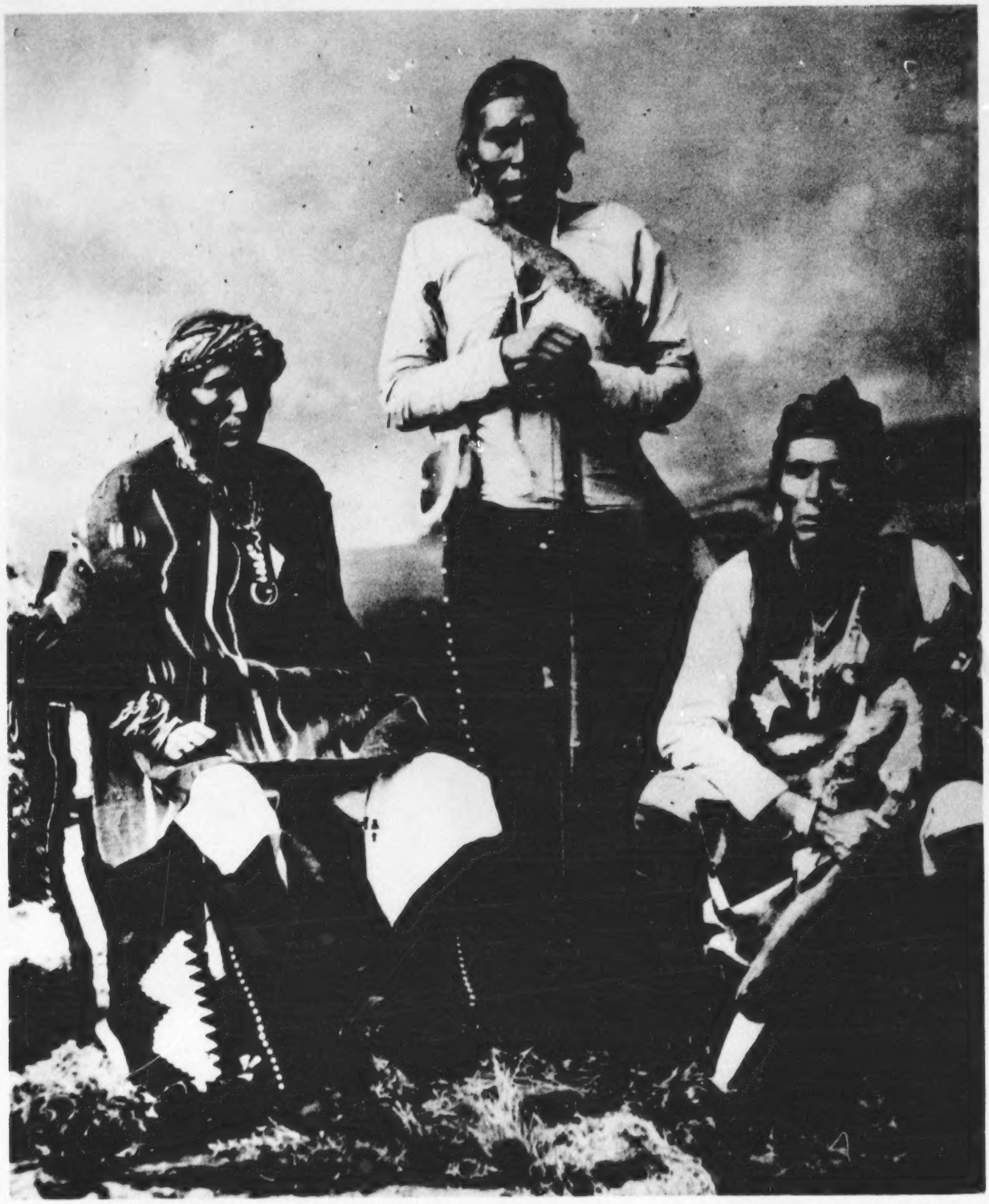


Chief of Engineers, in the National Archives - photo # 77-WB-29. **"Navajo Brave and his mother. The Navajos were formerly a warlike tribe until subdued by U.S. Troops in 1859-60. Many of them now have fine flocks and herds of horses, sheep and goats."** T. H. O'Sullivan. 1873 (?).

Chief of Engineers in the National Archives - photo # 77-WE-25. **"Domestic scene among the Navajoe Indians. The Women weaving blankets, and the 'Lords' looking distainfully on. The blankets seen are made from native wool, black and white."** T. H. O'Sullivan. 1873 (?).



Chief of Engineers, in the National Archives - photo # 77-WE-23. **"Navajoe boys and squaw in front of the quarters of old Fort Defiance, New Mexico, now unoccupied by troops. The agency for the Navajoes is located here."** T. H. O'Sullivan. 1873 (?).



Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation - photo # 35359. **"Men in costume, Granada Mucho, Tiene-su-se, and Mariana."** Appears same props, people as Navajo delegation to Washington, D.C. 1874. Photographer unknown.

Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2481-G. **"Atta-kai-bi-tzu-ih and Charlie."**
Photographer probably A. Frank Randall. 1880's (?).

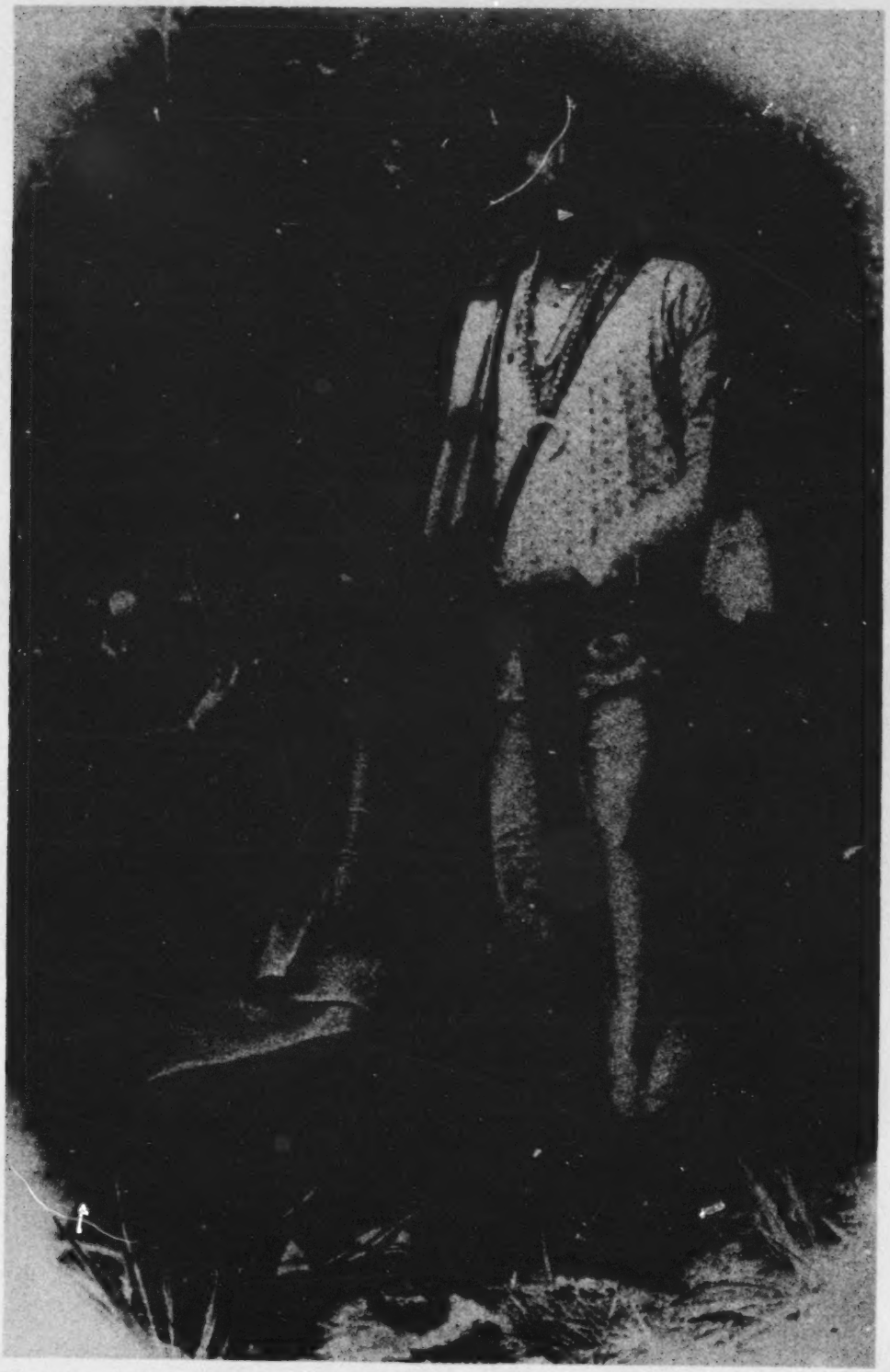
285

Arizona Historical Society - photo # 30,333. **"Manuelito, Navajo Chief and wife. New Mexico, ca. 1881.** Photographer unknown.

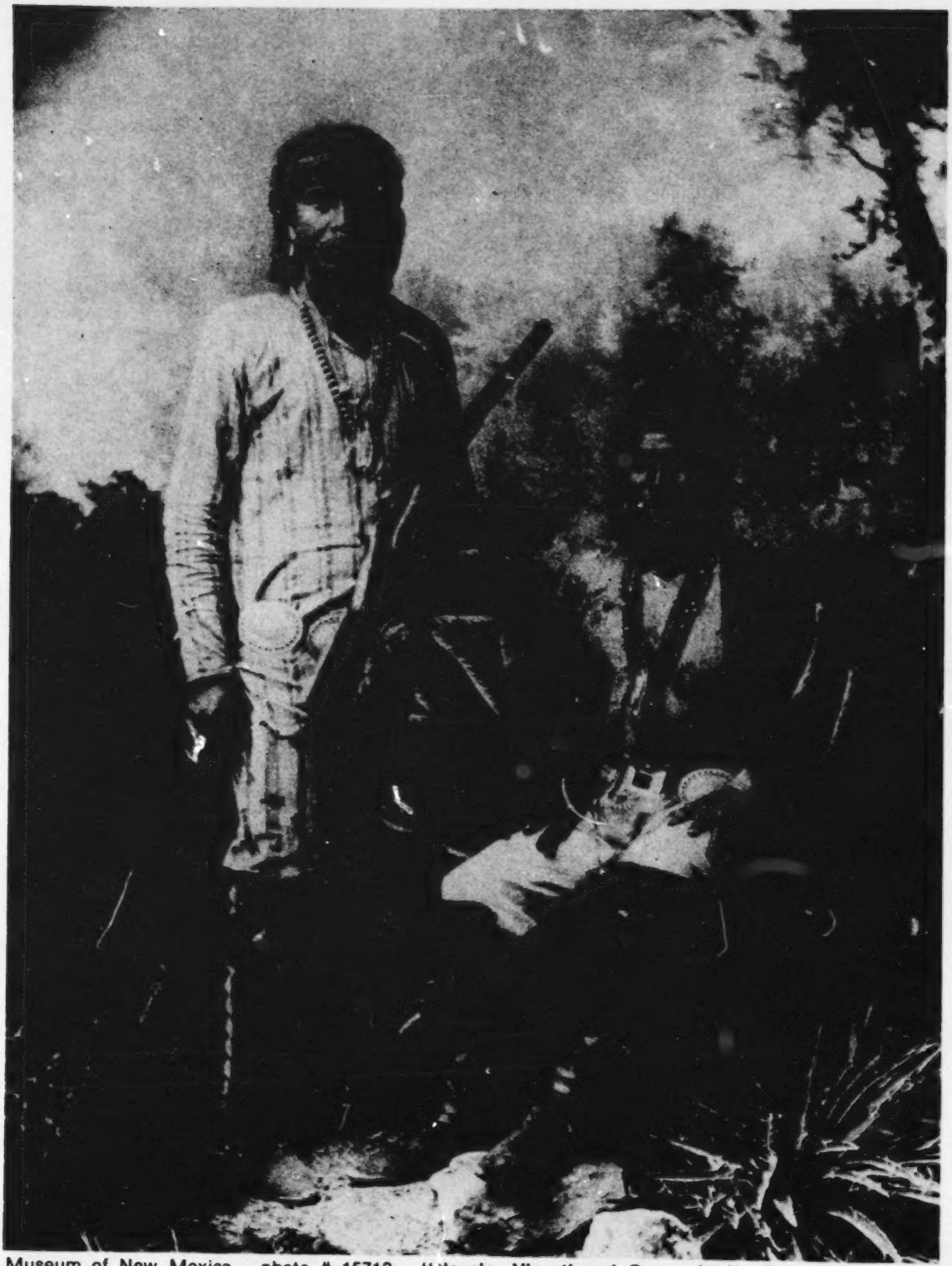
Arizona Historical Society - photo # 50,141. **"Charlie Mitchell and Atta-kai-bi-tzu-ih."** Photographer and date unknown.

Arizona Historical Society - photo # 50,130. **"Pedro, Gayetenito, Biziz, Navajo Scouts. Apache Campaign"** Ca. 1886. Photographer unknown.

Museum of New Mexico - photo # 16374. **"Navajo. Vicente, Pitacio and Juana."** Ben Wittick, photographer. Date unknown.



Museum of New Mexico - photo # 38505. **"Navajo Indians of Arizona, Pedro and Anselina."** Ben Wittick, photographer. Date unknown.



Museum of New Mexico - photo # 15712. **"Navajo, Vicenti and Germanita."** Ben Wittick, photographer. Date unknown.

Smithsonian Institution - photo # 43,023. **"Unidentified man and woman. Navaho."** Photographer and date unknown.

Maxwell Museum of New Mexico. **"Navajo Family."** Ben Wittick, photographer. Date unknown.

Museum of New Mexico - photo 15926. **"Navajo Camp."** Ben Wittick, photographer. Date unknown.

Museum of New Mexico - photo # 15930. **"Navajo Camp."** Ben Wittick, photographer. Date unknown.

Museum of New Mexico - photo # 3241. **"Navajo - Chin-dash and Clizi-bega."** Photographer and date unknown.

National Park Service, in the National Archives - photo # 79-HP-S-6-3264. **"Navajo hogan."** Photographer and date unknown.

Arizona Historical Society - photo # 950. **"Navajo Indian Scouts waiting to be paid. Fort Wingate, New Mexico."** Ca. 1886. Photographer unknown.

Arizona Historical Society - photo # 28449. **"Navajo women and children."** Photographer and date unknown.

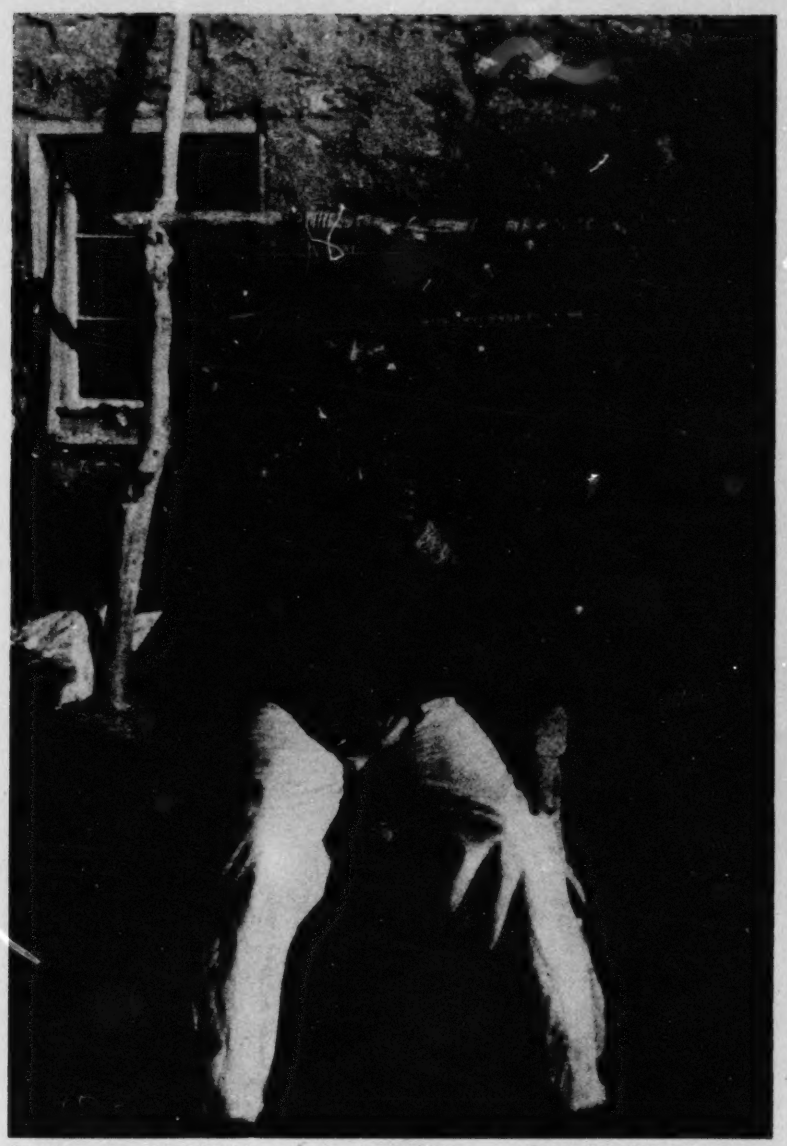
301

U.S. Signal Corps, in the National Archives - photo # 111-SC-89606. **"Russell Sage and squaw. Arizona Territory."** Photographer and date unknown.

302

Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2481-B-12. **"Jake (silversmith), wife, and brother-in-law, Fort Wingate, New Mexico. 1892."** James Mooney, photographer.

Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2481-B-5. **"Ben Damon, half-breed interpreter and brother-in-law, Fort Wingate, New Mexico. 1892. (also a woman).** James Mooney, photographer.



395 Smithsonian Institution - photo 2406-A. **"Pesh-lakai-lihini, the silversmith, with one of his children. Near Ganado, Arizona."** James Mooney, photographer; winter 1892-93.

Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2415-B-1. **"Two unidentified young men. Near Keam's Canyon, Arizona, winter of 1892-93."** James Mooney, photographer. 396

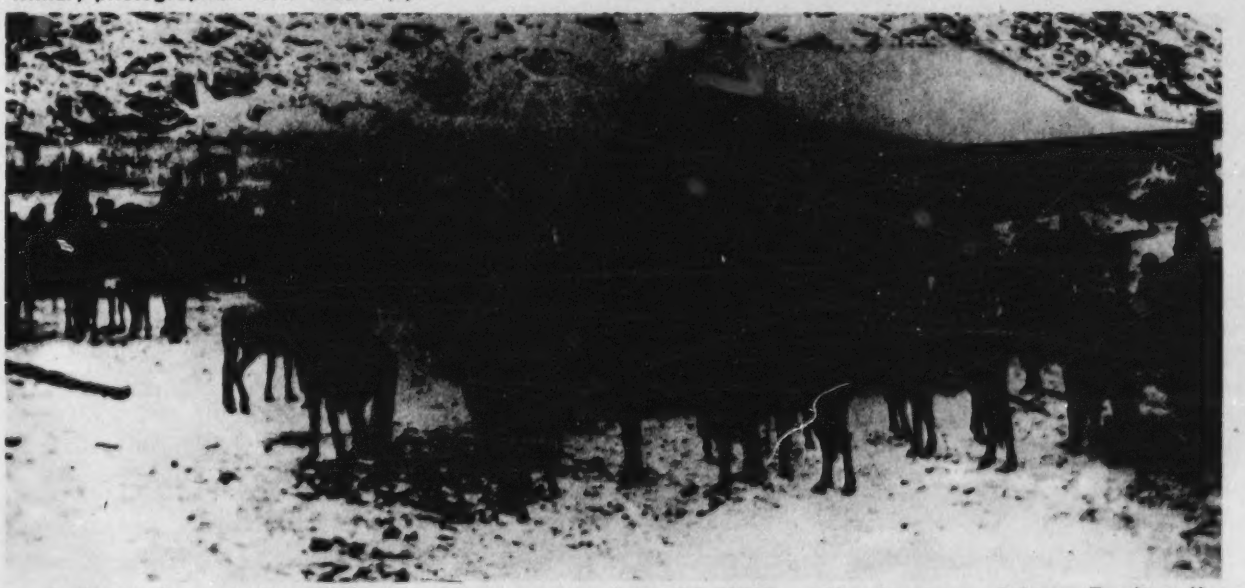
Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2409-A. **"W. N. Wallace, 'Navaho Bill' (white); Den-ne-hi-a-ji or Capt. Sam, Reservation policeman; Pin-zes-bah (17 yr. old) step-daughter and wife of Capt. Sam, her own mother also being a wife."** William Dinwiddle, photographer; 1894.

Smithsonian Institution - photo # 2458-F. **"Navaho man with bow and arrows, standing by picket gate. Bearded white man with him looks like James Mooney, who was in Navajo country in 1892-93. Possibly taken at Keams Canyon."** Photographer unknown.

Southwest Museum, Los Angeles, California - photo # 19,724. **"Navajo Chiefs in hogan."** W. Ray Swartz, photographer; ca. 1898.

Smithsonian Institution - photo # 43091-A. **"Navajo Indians selling ponies to Apaches. Fort Apache, Arizona Territory."** A. Miller, photographer. CA. 1890's (?).

233



U. S. Signal Corps in the National Archives - photo # 111-SC-89607. **"Navajo ponys. Arizona Territory."** Photographer and date unknown.

311

312

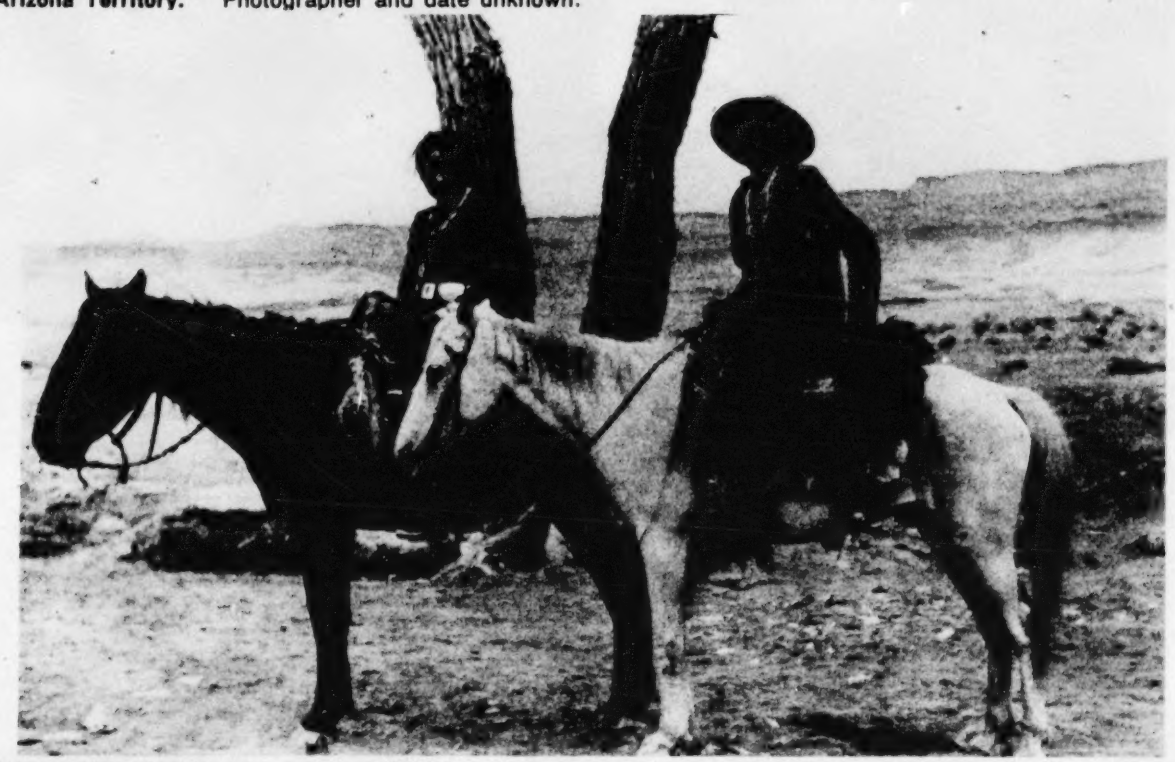
Museum of New Mexico - photo # 37596. **"Navajo Indians gambling. 1901."** Photographer unknown.

Smithsonian Institution - photo # 54622-B. **"Navaho men gambling."** Sumner W. Matteson, photographer; ca. 1890's.

Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation - photo 3757. **"Navajo family, Antonito's. Mesa Verde, Southwest Colorado."** Orchard, photographer. 1900.

Museum of New Mexico - photo # 3251. **"Navajos at Faith Mission, Utah."** Ca. 1902. Charles Goodman, photographer.

U. S. Signal Corps, in the National Archives - photo # 111-SC-89588. **"Mixed group at Fort Defiance, Arizona Territory."** Photographer and date unknown.



Arizona Historical Society - photo # 29,215. **"Hoskaninni with companion."** Ca. 1909. Photographer and date unknown.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

John Adair, *The Navajo and Pueblo Silversmiths,* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Oklahoma, 1944.

Charles Avery Amsden, *Navaho Weaving: Its Technic and History,* University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1949.

L.R. Bailey, *Bosque Redondo,* Socio-Technical Books, Pasadena, California, 1970.
——*The Long Walk,* Westernlore Press, Los Angeles, California, 1964.

Margery Bedinger, *Indian Silver,* University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1973.

J.J. Brody, *Between Traditions: Navajo Weaving Toward the End of the Nineteenth Century,* University of Iowa Museum of Art, Iowa City, Iowa, 1976.

David M. Brugge and J. Lee Correll, *The Story of the Navajo Treaties:* Navajo Historical Publications Documentary Series No. 1, Window Rock, 1971.

Condition of Indian Tribes - Report of the Joint Special Committee, 1867, Washington, 1867.

J. Lee Correll, *Through White Men's Eyes: A Contribution to Navajo History,* Navajo Heritage Center, Window Rock, Arizona, 1976.

Elaine Eastman, *Pratt, Red Man's Moses;* University of Oklahoma Press, 1935.

Franciscan Fathers, *An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navaho Language,* Saint Michaels, Arizona, 1910.

Larry Frank, *Indian Silver Jewelry of the Southwest 1868-1930,* New York Graphic Society, Boston, Massachusetts, 1978

Maurice Frink, *Fort Defiance and the Navajos,* Pruett Press, Boulder, Colorado, 1968.

Herbert E. Gregory, *The Navajo Country: A Geographic Hydrographic Reconnaissance of Parts of Arizona, New Mexico and Utah,* United States Geological Survey Water Supply Paper 380, Washington, D.C., 1916.

U.S. Hollister, *The Navajo and His Blanket,* Rio Grande Classic Reprint, Glorieta, New Mexico, 1974.

George Wharton James, *Indian Blankets and Their Makers - The Navaho,* Rio Grande Classic Reprint, Glorieta, New Mexico, 1970.

Mary Hunt Kahlenberg and Anthony Berlant, *The Navajo Blanket,* Praeger Publishers, Los Angeles, California, 1972.

Lawrence Kelly, *Navajo Roundup,* Pruett Publishing Co., Boulder, Colorado, 1970.

Clyde Kluckhohn, *"The Navaho in the Machine Age." Technology Review XLIV,* Feb. 1942.

Clyde Kluckhohn, W.W. Hill and Lucy Wales Kluckhohn, *Navaho Material Culture,* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1971.

Martin Link, *Hwelte,* Navajoland Publications, Series 7, Window Rock, Arizona, 1971.

Washington Matthews, *"Navajo Silversmiths," Bureau of American Ethnology Second Annual Report 1880-1881,* Washington, D.C., 1883.
——*"Navajo Weavers,"* Bureau of American Ethnology Third Annual Report 1882, Washington, D.C., 1884.

Frank McNitt, *Navajo Wars, Military Campaigns, Slave Raids and Reprisals,* University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1972.
——*The Indian Traders,* University of Oklahoma Press, 1962.

Message from the President of the United States to the Two Houses of Congress at the Commencement of the First Session of the Thirty-Third Congress, Washington, 1853.

Charles Ethrige Minton, *Juan of Santo Nino,* Sunstone Press, Santa Fe, New Mexico, 1973.

H.P. Mera, *Navajo Textile Arts,* Laboratory of Anthropology, Santa Fe, New Mexico, 1948.

Lawrence R. Murphy, *Frontier Crusader - William F.M. Arny,* University of Arizona Press, Tucson, Arizona, 1972.
——Editor, *Indian Agent in New Mexico: The Journal of Special Agent W.F.M. Arny, 1870,* Stagecoach Press, Santa Fe, 1967.

Museum of New Mexico, *Fort Sumner, New Mexico,* Monuments Division, Santa Fe, New Mexico, 1974.

Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1865, Washington, 1865.
Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1866, Washington, 1866.
Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1867, Washington, 1867.
Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1871, Washington, 1871.
Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1872, Washington, 1872.
Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1875, Washington, 1875.
Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1876, Washington, 1876.
Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1877, Washington, 1877.
Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1878, Washington, 1878.
Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1879, Washington, 1879.
Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1880, Washington, 1880.

Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1881, Washington, 1881.
Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1882, Washington, 1882.
Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1883, Washington, 1883.
Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1884, Washington, 1884.
Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1886, Washington, 1886.
Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1888, Washington, 1888.
Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1890, Washington, 1890.
Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1891, Washington, 1891.
Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1892, Washington, 1892.
Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1894, Washington, 1894.
Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1895, Washington, 1895.
Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1897, Washington, 1897.
Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1908, Washington, 1908.

Richard Henry Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom - Four Decades with the American Indian, 1867-1904,* Yale University Press, 1964.

Robert A. Roessel, Jr., *Select Navajo Historical Occurrences 1850-1923,* Navajo Community College Press, Tsaile, Arizona, 1974.

Ruth Roessel, editor, *Navajo Stories of the Long Walk Period,* Navajo Community College Press, Tsaile, Arizona, 1973.

Gerald Thompson, *The Army and the Navajo - The Bosque Redondo Reservation Experiment 1863-1868,* University of Arizona Press, Tucson, Arizona, 1976.

Ruth Underhill, *Here Comes the Navajo,* Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1953.

Arthur Woodard, *A Brief History of Navajo Silversmithing,* Northern Arizona Society of Science and Art, Flagstaff, Arizona, 1938.

Robert Young and William Morgan, *Navajo Historical Selections,* Bureau of Indian Affairs, Phoenix, Arizona, 1954.
——*The Trouble at Round Rock,* United States Indian Service, Phoenix, Arizona, 1952.

APPENDIX

The following is a list of other selected materials published by the Navajo Curriculum Center Press of Rough Rock Demonstration School.

Navajo History, Vol. I	*Editor, Ethelou Yazzie*
Navajo Biographies, Vol. I	*By Virginia Hoffman*
Navajo Biographies, Vol. II	*By Broderick Johnson and Virginia Hoffman*
Denetsosie	*Edited by Broderick H. Johnson, Sydney M. Callaway and Others*
Coyote Stories	*Edited by Robert A. Roessel, Jr. and Dillon Platero*
Grandfather Stories	*By Sydney M. Callaway, Gary Witherspoon and Others*
Lucy Learns To Weave	*By Virginia Hoffman*
Black Mountain Boy	*By Vada Carlson and Gary Witherspoon*
Navajo Education At Rough Rock	*By Broderick H. Johnson*
Navajo Education In Action: Rough Rock Demonstration School	*By Robert A. Roessel, Jr.*
Navajo Education 1948-1978: Its Progress and Its Problems	*By Robert A. Roessel, Jr.*
Navajo Music	*Editor, Dollie L. Yazzie and Lynda A. Dick*
ESL Teacahing Ideas	*By Kathryn Moyes*
ESL Outline of Objectives	*By Marileta Sawyer, Mary T. Castimore and Kathryn Moyes*
Kinaalda'	*By Shirley M. Begay*
Dual Language Material	*By Martha A. Austin*
Navajo Games & Culture Activities	*Compiled by Troy Glendon Castamore*
Navajo Reservation Map & Index	*By Babette Holliday*
Dine Bizaad One	*By George C. Mitchell*
Saad Naashchaa	*By Irene Silentman and Paul Wilson, Jr.*
Naaldloshii Naachaah	*By Irene Silentman and Paul Wilson, Jr.*
Stories of the Navajo	*Compiled by Laura Wallace*
Deezbah and Chee	*Revised editor Ethelou Yazzie and Peter Handeland*
Arts and Crafts	*By George Mitchell*
Hooghan Bahane'	*Revised by Shirley M. Begay*
Adalii Cho'i	*Revised edition*
To Be A Navajo	*By Sigmund A. Boloz's Phase III-1 Class*
We Just Came To See How They Make A Road	*By Sigmund A. Boloz's Phase III-1 Class*
Awee' Ch'Ideeldlo'	*By Shirley M. Begay*
Sheepherder Sam	*By teacher's aids of Title VII Program*
Aneelt'e	*By Johnson Dennison*